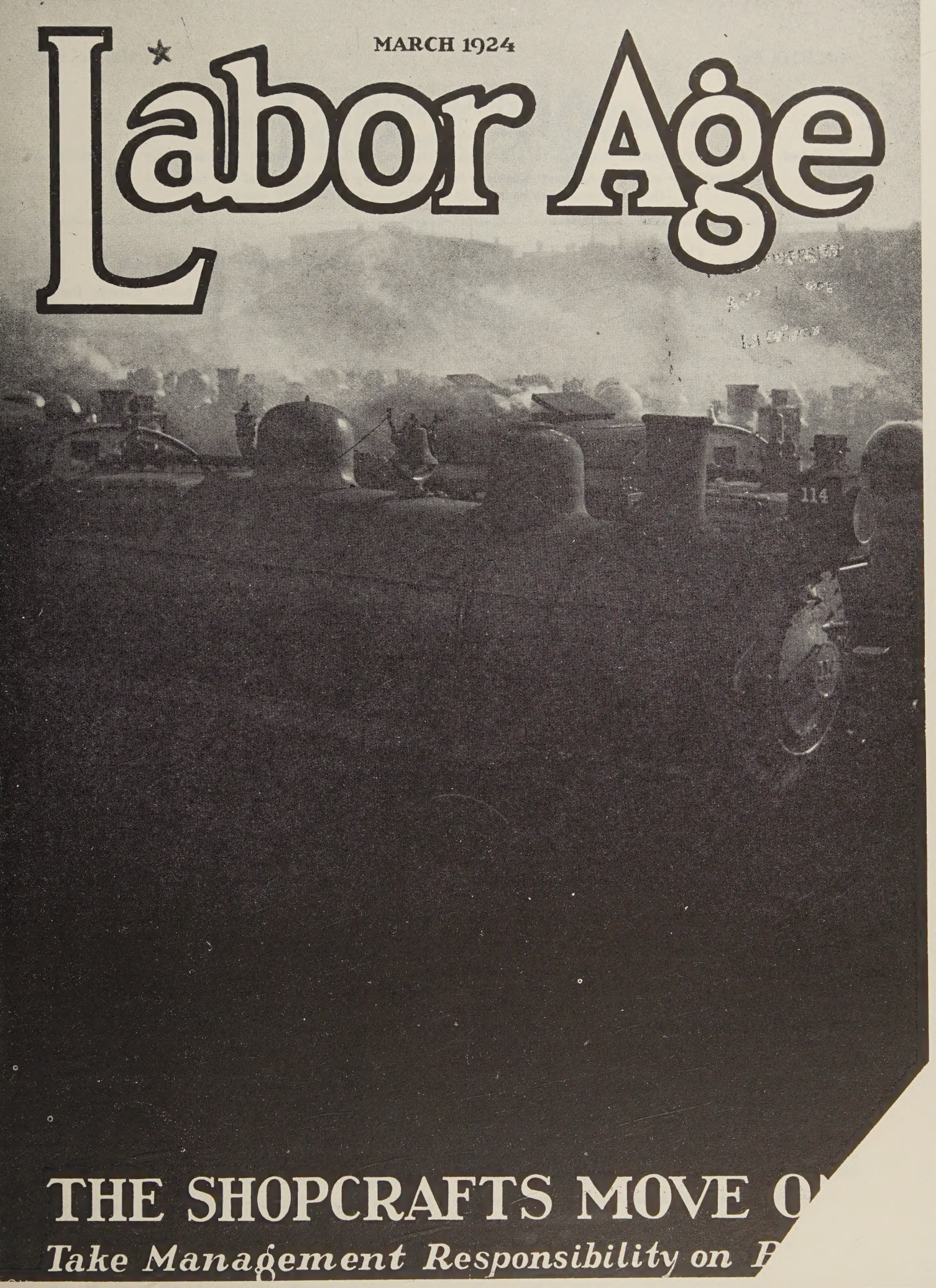


MARCH 1924

# Labor Age



THE SHOPCRAFTS MOVE ON

*Take Management Responsibility on F*



# Labor Age

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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## TAKING MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY

OUT of the struggles of the shopmen has come a new idea. Its test will lie in the good results that it obtains for the shop workers.

Labor cannot be interested in the welfare of industry as such, until Labor comes into control of industry—until the workers have a deciding and permanent voice in the conduct of the shops and mills in which they work. Then will the workers be free, masters of their own destiny. Then can men go to work with the “idea of accomplishing something,” instead of knowing that they are merely being driven to make profits for their “masters.” Common ownership of Big Industry alone will usher in this era of creative effort and service.

The B. & O. idea can therefore not be judged by the good that it does the railroad industry. “What does it bring to the shopmen?” is the question on which it will stand or fall.

That question is already largely answered. It has given steadier employment, and killed the anti-union contract system. It has opened the door, to a degree, to Labor's taking some responsibility in management—which Labor must do more and more, if Industrial Democracy is to be attained. These are achievements which show the idea's remarkable future possibilities—fraught with good for the workers both as producers and consumers.

The B. & O. idea is merely an extension of collective bargaining. Under the present capitalistic system, collective bargaining is a necessity—intermingling in no way with a militant long-time program. It the workers obtain their immediate bread,

looking ahead to the time when they can demand freedom and power. The B. & O. idea adds to the workers' demands for decent wages and hours, a further demand that puts them on the first rung of the ladder toward the securing of power. It gives them, as organized workers operating through their regular union, a voice in the destruction of industrial wastes—which the workers have long said the captains of industry desire to keep permanent. These wastes have prevented the workers from securing a larger share in the results of industry. By taking up the job of wiping out these wastes, the union workers not only benefit themselves, but prove the validity of their attack on the present Capitalist System.

As the composite articles in this issue show, the B. & O. idea is a fine step forward for Labor in its fight—if coupled with a militant program. It is not a substitute for closer organization. It can only win through to the end for Labor, when the goal of common ownership of industry is kept in mind. It is interesting to know that much the same group of unions which have begun this experiment in shop control, also demand (through the C. P. P. A.) the public ownership of railroads, with workers' participation in management. *They do have, therefore, the bigger program before them.*

With this goal in view, they can use this entering wedge of shop control to prepare themselves for further control. May they succeed in both efforts! And may they encourage other unions to study the possibilities of getting a better grip on the functions of management in their own industries!



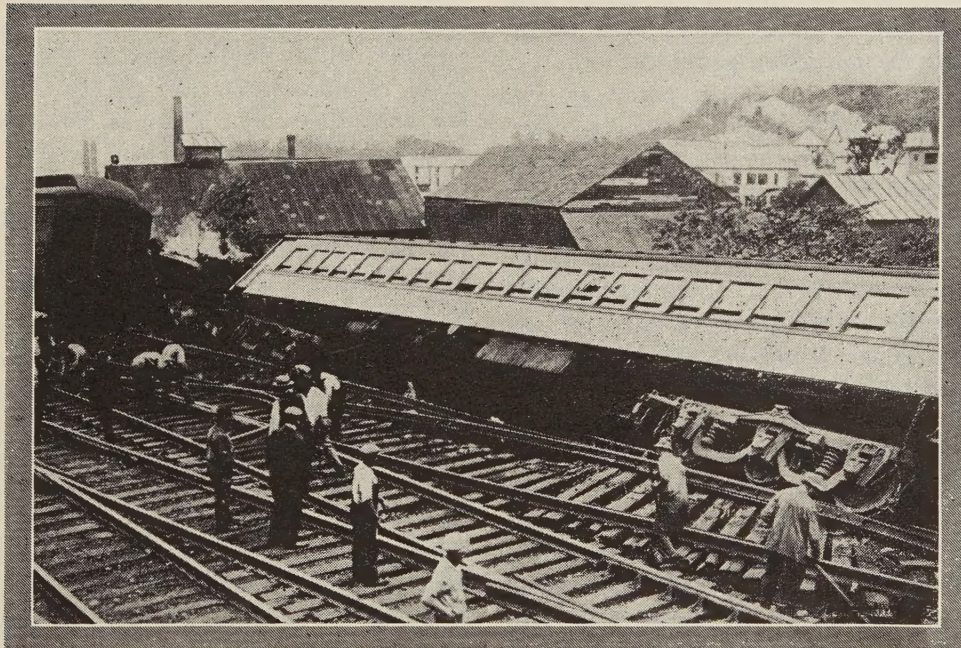
# Labor Age



## The Shop Crafts Move On

By O. S. BEYER, Jr.

UNIONS  
CAN  
HELP  
STOP  
THIS



When  
They  
Win  
Voice  
in  
Management

*Keystone Photos*

**Wreck on the B. & O. (Before Contracting Out of Repair Work was Stopped)**

**T**HE Baltimore and Ohio Shopmen have long been recognized in the railroad labor movement as a courageous, progressive bunch. Step by step have they won for themselves the recognition and respect of their fellow shopmen on other railroads and in other industries.

Nor has the management of the Baltimore and Ohio been slow to recognize the outstanding qualities of its car and locomotive mechanics, and arrive at understandings and agreements with their unions such as the conditions and circumstances of the times dictated.

The intelligence of the management and the tenacity of the shop craft unions during times of crisis in the past always successfully asserted themselves. This prevented the creation of situations such as have come about on other railroads—characterized by bad faith, suspicion and disgust, between employees and management. It was with the thought of the past favorable relationship between Baltimore and Ohio men and management in mind that President Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio, among others, joined with the representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio shopmen to settle the



big railroad strike of 1922. But he did not stop with a mere settlement. He went a step further when it was put up to him; and agreed to recognize the regular shop unions on his railroad as agencies worthy of and able to assume genuine responsibility in the operation of the railroads' shops.

For the Baltimore and Ohio shopmen to have won for themselves this new place in their industry is a great tribute to them and a big step forward. No longer is Baltimore and Ohio System Federation No. 30 an aggregation of loosely federated railroad shop unions, only tolerated because it is more expensive to fight it than to recognize it. No longer does a negative attitude of the management towards the federation serve the malcontent, the selfish or the narrow individualist who is always agitating to "go it alone". No longer is the major value of the shop men's organization merely a "nuisance value", for the purpose of extracting unwilling concessions from management and the industry. These concessions, by this token, have always been nearer the minimum than the maximum possible.

#### No Bait Any Longer

Instead the new place and the new function of the Baltimore and Ohio System Federation binds the individual organizations composing the federation, closer together. With the bait removed which ordinary railroad managements have so frequently held out to keep the crafts divided, offering one group better wages and conditions at the expense of the others—one of the chief causes which prevented unanimity of opinion and singleness of purpose on the part of the affiliated crafts is destroyed.

Similarly does the new constructive policy of the B & O shopmen put piece work and all other task and bonus systems more effectively on the shelf than ever before. Such systems in railroad shops, as any practical union mechanic knows, keep men quarrelling among one another. They tend to minimize the interest in the common welfare as expressed through union activity. The new spirit of cooperation carried over into the shops, yards and roundhouses where the men work, greatly enlarges the value of these organizations, not only to their constituents but also to the industry in which they function. To the protective responsibilities of the Baltimore and Ohio shop unions, as far as the membership is concerned, are now added responsibilities as far as the conduct of the railroad is concerned. And this is in keeping with sound economic and human progress. *It is the logical constructive, scientific outgrowth of clean-cut union recognition.* As a healthy development in our industrial struct-

ure the new labor policy of cooperation of the federated shop crafts automatically brings with it the remedy for these conditions which your railroad amalgamationists maintain can only be realized when everything has been soundly "amalgamated"—whatever that may mean in our age of conflicting and rapidly changing forces, industrial structures and motives controlling workers.

#### When the Program is Workable

A program of "cooperation" between unions and management is only feasible when the unions clearly and genuinely represent the workers involved. Railroad management primarily represents the material investments in the industry. Under the type of control which prevails at the present time, railroad management has two very clearly defined responsibilities. The first is to the investors in the railroad who select management through an elected board of directors. The second is to the public through the Interstate Commerce Commission and various state public service commissions. Both these responsibilities are pretty clearly defined in law and otherwise. There is, however, a "third responsibility" of management which, though quite real, is nevertheless not clearly as well established as the first two. This third responsibility is to the railroad workers, those who have invested their lives in the industry as distinguished chiefly from those who have merely invested some money.

Now, what the railroad corporation through its board of directors does for the investor (or what for instance the Interstate Commerce Commission does for the railroad shipper, traveller or the "public") the railroad labor union does for the railroad worker. The railroad corporation protects the material side of the railroad, whereas the railroad labor organization protects and furthers the welfare of the human part of the industry.

It is on the basis of this idea that the Baltimore and Ohio shopmen are proceeding. If their federation does clearly and definitely speak for the 25,000 shopmen of the system, and quite admittedly it does, then its function is clear—providing management is ready to cooperate with the federation on the basis of its being necessary and helpful to the railroads. That management on the Baltimore and Ohio clearly realizes its responsibilities to its employees (and so recognizes the federation shop unions as constructive and desirable in conducting the railroad) is indicated by the following principles definitely subscribed to in writing between the Baltimore and Ohio System Federation and the management.



"The welfare of the Baltimore and Ohio and its employees is dependent on the service which the railroad renders the public. Improvements in this service and economy in operating and maintenance expenses are greatly promoted by willing co-operation between the railroad management and the voluntary organizations of its employees. When the groups responsible for better service and greater efficiency share fairly in the benefits which follow their joint efforts, improvements in the conduct of the railroad are greatly encouraged. The parties to this agreement recognize the foregoing principles and agree to be governed by them in their relations."

#### Union Recognition First

The constructive recognition of the standard shop craft unions, therefore, is the first essential to an economically sound program of union cooperation with railroad management. The second requirement is the equitable sharing between shopmen and railroad of the gains of cooperation. The third requirement is continuity of employment.

In order that this first principle may be given real meaning, and further so that administrative machinery may be established whereby the men through their unions can cooperate with management, bi-weekly joint local cooperative meetings are held. These take place between the regular local federated shop committee and the ranking local management officer and his staff. Approximately every two or three months the system federated committee, composed of the general chairmen of the shop crafts (which is the Executive Board of the System Federation), unite at the headquarters of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in conference with the general Superintendent of Motive Power and his staff.

Minutes are kept of all these joint meetings, which are furnished to railroad headquarters and the shopmen's system federation headquarters. The matters proposed, discussed and acted upon at these conferences concern themselves chiefly with shop, yard and roundhouse operation. Such as: material supply, care and saving, methods for doing work, coordination and scheduling of work, tools and tool equipment, job analysis, quality of work being done, group records of work turned out, general shop performance, conditions of shops, grounds, machines, stabilizing of production and employment, education and training, recruiting and so on. *The shop men, through their unions and accredited representatives assume a brand new place in the structure of the shop. They participate in its management.*

The second principle, "fair sharing of the gains of cooperation" has been, is being and will in the future, be realized through improvements in working conditions and wage income. These improvements will be established from day to day as the co-

operative program helps in bettering shop conditions and methods, and from time to time through negotiations with management, based among other things upon actual showings made through cooperation. The cooperative program does not contemplate any form of increasing wage income, other than through steady work and increases in wage rates. In other words, no piece work or similar system of payment is feasible or permissible in the development of cooperation.

Finally the third and last principle, "steady work" is being realized by doing "Baltimore and Ohio Work in Baltimore and Ohio Shops," the extension of Baltimore and Ohio manufacturing and repair facilities, and the inauguration of such other measures as time and future experience will indicate as being wise and necessary. The Baltimore and Ohio management is developing a program along the foregoing lines, especially in so far as cooperation results in lowered repair and manufacturing costs. This enables management to do work in Baltimore and Ohio Shops under union conditions and at union rates in preference to purchasing materials and equipment from outside non-union concerns.

#### At the Glenwood Shops

The first details of this constructive railroad union and management cooperation were worked out at the big Glenwood Shops of the Baltimore and Ohio at Pittsburg. While the technique of cooperation was being developed locally, the whole policy and program were being discussed all over the entire railroad system. So that in less than a year and a half after the settlement of the shop strike on the Baltimore and Ohio, has a new dispensation come about in the relation between the shop unions and the management. A detailed analysis of the benefits to both railroad and shopmen of the new policy of cooperation is a separate story in itself. The fact that joint cooperation meetings are now being held at each shop point on the system from Chicago and St. Louis to New York, the fact that the most advanced system for adjusting matters between men and management has just been worked out and established, are but two high spots in the success attending this new development in the realm of labor and industry.

But the outstanding testimony supporting the soundness of the Baltimore and Ohio Shopmen's activities is the superior performance of the Baltimore and Ohio, a genuine union railroad, when compared with its "company union" or "employee representative system" competitors. No one will question the fact that the Baltimore and Ohio shopmen are bet-



## THE IDEA IN A NUTSHELL

**A**T its Portland Convention, the American Federation of Labor made a declaration for "Industrial Democracy" as the goal of the Labor Movement. It outlined in general terms a picture of a program—evidently to be filled in later. It suggested that Labor in some way must come into wider control in industry, and must take up some of the responsibilities of management.

The idea had been discussed in the "American Federationist" as far back as March, 1920. Then Horace B. Drury, an economist, discussed the question of "Labor and Production," in an article in that journal. This article—couched largely in the terms of the professional economist—said in part:

"The old idea of master and servant is passing away, and in place of it industry is coming to be regarded as a joint enterprise, a concern not only of investors, but of all who by labor of mind or body contribute to the common aim. What, now, will be the meaning of this new day—of this new partnership? Will the hosts of labor restrict their enterprise to dickerings for profit, to trying to seize where others have seized? Or will labor, making full use of its new franchise, insist that the object of industry is production: that the whole plan of industry must be so drawn, and the attitude of both management and labor so shaped, that all effort shall bear its full fruit in terms of actual human service rendered?"

The shopcraft unions on the B. & O. have made an attempt to fill in a section of the picture drawn in rough by the A. F. of L. For remembrance, the main features of the idea are briefly these:

1. The unions continue to operate identically as before, so far as wages and hours are concerned. The union workers act, every step of the way, through their regular international unions and the representatives of those unions.

2. An extension is made to the power of the organized workers, consisting of the job

of taking part in shop management. These questions—of waste, conditions, proper tools, etc.—are in the hands of the regular union shop committees. No new machinery is created to carry out this campaign of waste destruction.

3. The union workers employ an engineer to represent them on questions of waste elimination, good tools, etc. He has all the rights—so far as the railroad is concerned, to make demands that the union representatives have.

4. The union guarantees that in this way the railroad rolling stock will be improved. This is not a guarantee to secure any set amount of production, but merely a general agreement that the idea will produce such a result.

5. The railroad agrees that it will increase wages (as the good results of the idea are shown) that it will give steady employment, and will not contract its repair work out to anti-union concerns.

6. There is no introduction of a speeding-up or super-efficiency system. The stress is on the doing away with wasteful conditions in the shop, such as the scrapping of one locomotive to repair another, better working conditions, etc.

Objection has been made to the plan on the basis that it brings the management as a class and the workers as a class too closely together. This has been the objection voiced by the Communists. But the answer has been: That if Labor hopes to get control of industry, it must learn how to conduct management as a group. This gives the opportunity. It opens the way for any long-time militant program. It gives the union workers further intimate knowledge of the conduct of the shop. Joined with a militant political and industrial program, it undoubtedly forms an experiment which will lead Labor a step further along the road to group control of the tools with which it works.

ter off, enjoy better incomes, steadier work, more pleasant working conditions, and more happy relations with their supervisors than do the shopmen in the other work referred to.

So, as the program of "co-operation" intends,

both the employees through their unions—soundly established and constructively functioning—and the railroad through its management—intelligent, progressive, and fearless of criticism and intimidation—benefit by the Baltimore and Ohio idea.



# Continue the Militant Program

*"B. & O. Idea" a Step in the Fight—Not a Cure-all*

By E. J. LEVER

**A** WARNING that too much must not be expected of the plan worked out on the B. & O., alone! Brother Lever believes in the plan strongly, believes it to be a good step in the direction of the organized workers' assumption of shop control. But it must be coupled with a militant trade union program, he thinks, particularly with further development of amalgamation among the shop craft unions.

**E**VER since the proposed plan of co-operation in production with employers was broached the writer has been greatly interested in its progress. Though no millenium could be expected from the proposal of Brother O. S. Beyer, our consulting engineer, it was a novel proposal anyway; surely in the metal trades, since it was in the clothing industry only where any degree of agreement on production has been evolved between the workers' organizations and employers.

## **Clothing vs. Metal Trades**

Every industry, and every branch of each industry presents problems all its own. Because the clothing workers have tried plans of co-operation in production with employers, some of which are working out satisfactorily, is no reason why our plans will or should. There is too much difference in the problems of the industries to draw close parallels and expect them to survive.

There is one reason above all others that must be borne in mind for whatever success the clothing workers gained with their cooperation in production plans. That reason is that they Built Their Unions First, and placed them on solid footing as fighting, militant organizations, which automatically placed them on equal footing with the employer as his adversary, whose steel commands respect. Then, having a broader vision (than hours and wages only) of the aims and mission of their organizations, they broached the subject of co-operation in production to the employers. They found a sympathetic response from those employers who themselves possessed some social vision, and who had definitely given up that ever-recurring idea of destroying the unions.

## **Metal Trades Not There Yet**

But the metal trades have far, far from reached that point of organized strength that places us in a position of equal footing with the employers—

whose agreement we are seeking for a plan of co-operation in production. We have as yet to be convinced that, "the idea underlying our service to the Baltimore and Ohio may be compared to the idea which underlies the engineering services extended to railroads by large corporations which have contracts with those railroads to furnish, let us say, arch-brick, superheaters, stockers, or lubricating oils," to quote a proponent of the idea. The essential difference between superheaters and union men is that men are human—all too human. While the superheater, having demonstrated its efficiency (being a mere bunch of pig-iron) is sold to stay sold. An occasional adjustment from the technicians of the superheater company is all that is necessary. The services of a machinist or boiler-maker, they being human, are not replaced like a broken superheater. They are presumably able to keep themselves "in repair" through the militant strength of the unions, whose business it has been since their inception to "guarantee these human rights to the shopmen that could not be obtained any other way."

As Trade Unions, fighting for the preservation of the rights of our members, we have not as yet attained that respect from employers that places us on equal footing with them in planning so vital a subject as co-operation in production. The metal industry, the home and birthplace of the "efficiency expert," has run too far ahead of the slow thinking, slow growing, metal trades unions. It is too much, almost, to expect it to knuckle down to a plan of co-operation in production between union and employer, when we have as yet not convinced this bunch of bloodsucking exploiters, of our fundamental rights as organized workers within this industry of our own creation.

## **Union Ideas Fought For—Never "Sold"**

There is not a single employer in America of any consequence to whom the idea of Trade Unionism was "sold" without a fight—yea, many fights. And



## LABOR AGE

in the metal industry in the last few years the employers organized much better than the workers, to avoid this very idea of ever having to face a partnership with the organized workers. They have built up the National Metal Trades Association. That is a real Amalgamation Union of Metal Trades Employers, with millions in resources—to whom the end—the Destruction of the Metal Trades Unions—justifies the means—any and all means at their command. To suggest co-operation in production to this worst element among American employers is to be laughed out of court, and to get the iron-heeled boot out the door, besides. Some employers, no doubt, like the B. & O. (because of the many fights led against them by the Shopmen and their possession of a slight inkling of human justice) may be willing to enter into production agreements with our unions. But their numbers are very few. We shall realize in a year or two, much to our sorrow, that we have not devoted enough of our energies to overcoming the inertia against Amalgamation of our unions—towards a permanent solution of the many ills that afflict us.



**THE MAN BEHIND THE IDEA**

**O. S. Beyer, Jr., of the Labor Bureau, Engineer for Shopcraft Unions**

### **Some Reasons—and Others**

We may as well admit here that the real reason for our efforts towards co-operation in production with friendly employers is that we are compelled to lean that way, because of our inherent weakness and inability to lick our open shop adversaries in open combat. We cannot lick our employers for the simple reason that they have a better army than

we have. That's sufficient reason in itself; but it is not the only reason. The same doubt that has entered the minds of the soldiery of the warring nations since the war—that it may not be generalship at all, nor great men, whose strategy won the war, but the sheer weight of numbers and capacity for suffering through on the part of the rank and file that did it—is entering, and in fact, has already permeated, the very bone and sinew of our rank and file.

### **Beyer Is Right**

Now, about Beyer. Here's the happiest combination of Engineer, Mechanic and Trade Unionist there is perhaps to be found anywhere in this broad land. Beyer knows the industry in which he is engaged. He has worked in it, studied it, knows what he is talking about. When he gets before a group of metal workers and explains his ideas on how a shop ought to be operated—and how it actually can be if the workers' and employer's interest is aroused sufficiently to work the Beyer way, the idea becomes irresistible. Any "anti-class-collaborationist" may "holler murder" and few machinists and boilermakers will be found to lend a willing ear.

The shopman spends more than one third of his life working in the shop. He is not going to work with nerve-racking, smashed-up tools when he can get good ones. He is not going to work in rotten surroundings when he can work in clean ones. He is not going to see waste on every hand, waste he knows that he can help avoid, without a desire to see it avoided and gain the benefit of it, in part at least.

What's more, this same worker with the greasy overalls is tired of being an "order taker" only. He feels that it is time to expand; time to do a little "order giving" on his own hook—even if he in part becomes the "order taker" at the same time. The creative instinct in industry is becoming extinct, due to the exploitation of the workers by the hirelings of the private owners of industry. Beyer knows how to bring out that creative instinct and bring back that natural self-esteem to men that exploitation has not succeeded in driving out, in spite of all its efforts. Give a man a chance to plan his work and he will be glad of the opportunity. Surround his chances with the protection of a militant trade union, and he is doubly sure of his interest being taken care of. Our left-wing militants forget that the Beyer idea involves the definite acceptance of the trade union as a permanent institution in industry, without which such ideas as he proposes become impossible of working.

They also know, or ought to know, that muddling it up with "company unionism" is doing it a grave



THEY  
MADE  
THE IDEA  
REAL



Officials  
of  
Shop Unions  
on  
B. & O.  
System

Brothers E. M. Gerrity of the Boilermakers; C. W. Murphy of the Railway Carmen; John J. Wall of the Sheet Metal Workers; C. N. Fullerton of the Machinists; Wm. J. McGee of System Federation No. 30; T. L. Dugan of System Federation No. 30 and K. W. Green of the Electrical Workers.

injustice. If any company union ever achieved one-tenth the results that has been so far seen achieved by the Shopmen on the B. & O., the capitalist press of the country would have flooded us with "cure-all" propaganda. No. The left-wing critics are unfair, and largely because they lack understanding of the technique of the industry they attempt to criticise.

All their criticism that has thus far been hurled against the Beyer proposal overlooks its most important merit: teaching the workers the technique and management of their own industry. That is important. The more workers know about the management and operation of their own industry the stronger their unions are bound to be. The stronger the unions, the more self-reliance on the part of their memberships—the more progress at a faster pace. Important things to bear in mind, we should say! Brother Beyer is on the right track and his ideas should be developed by all means. We do not expect it to act as a cure-all, and Beyer expects it least of all.

#### But Militant Unionism First—and Last

But while ideas like Beyer's should be developed, there is nothing to prevent us from continuing our efforts toward more militant metal trades unionism. Let us continue our efforts towards building a departmentalized industrial union of metal work-

ers, that by its actions, ease of operation, clarity of purpose and sheer fighting wits will have won the imagination and enthusiasm of the over four million metal workers of America.

That Union can be so well built, so well led, so well knit together, so intelligently managed, that it will lick the worst gang of bloodsucking employers this broad land has ever produced. We are capable of building just such a Union, if we Will, and Dare, and Do!

What strikes bitter resentment in the hearts of thinking members against new and untried plans is that for the moment at least, the historic mission of the metal trades unions to Amalgamate is either carelessly or wilfully forgotten. Were this not the case, all new plans and ideas could march on together—all contributing their might towards the emancipation of the metal workers from wage-slavery. When we shall have amalgamated; when we shall have merged our scattered forces into One Mighty Army of Metal Workers—then "they" will be licked. When "they" are licked—then's the time to offer them a plan for union co-operation in production on a large scale. The Plan in one hand; the Sword of Militant Trade Unionism in the other. They Will accept it! Or they will rue the day they ever refused.



# Coal Dust and Shirts

By ANN WASHINGTON CRATON

THE city of Philadelphia in May will see the national convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The eyes of the delegates to that convention will be fixed, in part, on the non-union conditions in the nearby Pennsylvania coal fields. This tells something of the situation which Brother Clinton Golden, Pennsylvania General Organizer, has to face in his "out-of-town" fight.

SHUT in, in the hills of the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania—from Tamaqua in the lower fields to Scranton and Wilkes-Barre in the upper fields—in every little mining "patch" there are small factories manufacturing shirts, underwear and knit goods.

The coal fields are fertile fields of exploitation. Long ago they were discovered by New York manufacturers, running away from unionism and decent conditions imposed by protective legislation. The anthracite miners have never made sufficient wages to keep their children in school; and there is always the abnormally large percentage of miners' widows with large families of dependent children to support.

The shirt factories were hailed as a god-send in the beginning. Old churches and old stables were converted into shirt factories over night. Their owners were exempt from taxation. Into these factories went all of the little girls and boys and widows of the vicinity to make shirts. The boys remained until they could become breaker boys at the mines or actually become coal diggers.

In Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, a survey of shirt factories was made recently by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Around 3,000 girls ranging in age from 11 to 19, were found employed by three or four of the most prominent New York shirt manufacturers—who have flourished unmolested in this district and who have made millions by exploiting child workers. In Pottsville, Mahonay City, Minersville, St. Clair and Hazelton, the firm of Philips-Jones reigns supreme. In another section of the same county Liebowitz is king, owning fifteen shops. In adjoining counties he has thirty more.

The cost of production is so extremely low that these manufacturers prefer to run a chain of factories here and to transport their goods in high power trucks, as railroad facilities in these remote sections are impossible. Even in the most out-of-the-way spots, in villages miles from a car line or branch line or branch railroad, there are factories. Wherever there is a mine, there is also a shirt factory. And always, girls, girls, hundred and thousands of

little girls, throughout the coal fields, in faded gingham dresses, worn sweaters and hair ribbons, bare-headed, thronging to work in the early hours of the morning.

## Two Dollars a Week

The working hours are very long. In the most isolated sections from seven until six. But in the towns—where there is an occasional factory inspection and where there is a bluff at enforcing the Pennsylvania labor law—they work until five. The average pay is from \$2. a week for the extremely young girl to \$10. for older ones, with years of experience. Pay day comes but twice a month, with always a weeks' pay held back in order to insure steady workers. They are careful workers and they turn out a high grade garment, comparing favorably with the city-made product.

In Minersville and New Philadelphia and surrounding patches the girls are all Lithuanian, fair haired, blue eyed with an independent, fine spirit. Those who come from families known as "Free Thinkers" have a splendid radicalism. These Lithuanians have their own co-operative stores in a number of towns and are very progressive. The others are Church goers and deride the "Free Thinkers."

Shennandoah is largely Polish, although it boasts of a population of twenty-two different nationalities. It is typical of the larger towns of the lower coal regions. It is dark and dingy and dirty, shut in by the ugly gaunt hills of rock and slag. Its narrow streets swarm with babies, black with coal dust, whose busy mothers never have time to care for them. The salesman who does the most thriving business in this district is the salesman who sells coffins.

"What's your line?" he socially asked one day. "Shirts," answered the Union organizer.

"Well, so is mine," he announced, "the last shirts they wear. I handle coffins. And I do a fine business. Business is fine in Shennandoah when the Polish and Lithuanian babies start the cucumber season. The ones who don't die grow up husky."

The Union organizer disagreed with him, how-



NOT ONLY  
DO WORK—  
ACCIDENTS  
SHED THEIR  
SHADOW  
OVER THE  
COAL FIELD



There is  
Also  
The Curse  
of  
Child Labor

Waiting for identification of loved ones, Miners' Hall, Spangler, Pa.

ever. She knew that the Polish and Lithuanian cucumber-fed babies grew up pale and sickly to work in shirt factories. These child workers of Shennandoah were vastly different from the child workers in other towns, who, in comparison, did look uniformly husky and healthy. Shennandoah sapped their lives and vitality and energy. Of all low wages here were the very lowest. Here girls toiled for a cent and a half a dozen for almost every operation on a shirt, for fifty-one hours a week.

#### Born With a Union Label

Donaldson and Tremont, in another section of Schuylkill County, are mining towns inhabited largely by Welsh, German and Irish families. Particularly among the Welsh, the girls are of a higher order of intelligence and health. These girls had remained in school longer and had a good background of trade unionism, gleaned from their fathers. These men enjoyed reading their miners' journals and were keenly interested in their own union and in the labor movement. Their children seemed to have all been born with a Union label.

Between the nationality settlements, there are communities made up entirely of Pennsylvania Dutch families. Here the Dutch dialect is the only language spoken and the old customs are rigorously adhered to. The Pennsylvania Dutch girls seemed to prefer exploitation. They were so stolid and wooden and so unresponsive and suspicious that all efforts at organization failed.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,

eager to organize completely the men's clothing industry found their efforts to organize the shirt industry in New York defeated because of out-of-town shops. Strike after strike, year after year, were lost. It was soon discovered, that, if the city workers were to be organized, the country workers who were utilized as strike breakers must also be organized. So it was that the Shirt Makers' Union dared to invade the stronghold of the most powerful New York manufacturers, who boasted of their anti-unionism and of the strikes they had broken, and so it was, further, that the Shirtmakers' Union discovered that the strike breakers were the young daughters of the miners, members of the United Mine Workers, in one of the most strongly organized districts.

An organization campaign was undertaken, which from the beginning, and despite the cooperation of the miners was exceedingly difficult. This was not only because of the opposition of the manufacturers, who had no intention of allowing this paradise to be lost, but also because of the isolation and desolation of the country.

In the summer, when the bleak and barren hill-sides, where the trees have all been cut down for mine timber, are covered with great masses of wild rhododendron and mountain laurel, and when the mountain brooks occasionally run clear from the black drainage of the mines, there is a sweet picturesqueness about the country. The winter sets in in November, and the snow lasts until April.



Organizers were forced to walk through the country to reach the inaccessible patches, there being often no trains or electric cars. In the spring, during the freshets and thaws, the district was impossible. Even trains and cars could only travel at irregular intervals, often discharging their passengers to wade through snow and ice and mud to another car. This would soon deposit them for another such cold and icy wet journey, frequently in black darkness.

### "No Slackers Here"

The girls were well aware that they were exploited and overworked and underpaid. They had been helpless before, but now they were quick to seize their advantage. They had been brought up on Unionism. They had seen the collieries shut down many times because the miners refused to work with men who did not have a Union button in their caps. They understood solidarity. Like their fathers, who are the best Union fighters in America, they were unafraid and it was a wonderful militant spirit they possessed when aroused. The first shop was organized in about a week. "Don't come home until you join the Union," fathers and brothers would say, "we won't have any slackers here." At the dances the young miners would refuse to dance with a girl without a union button.

A surprised and irate superintendent answered with a lockout. But the city shop of this firm was organized. The city workers themselves went on strike. This was a new proceeding. For years, workers had scabbed on each other. It was the busy season and shirts were in demand. After a lock-out of seven weeks the superintendent settled. New Philadelphia became the first country local of the Amalgamated. Local 164 proudly hung its charter in the miners' hall over the Lithuanian saloon. A hundred girls went back to work with Union cards and with their own shop chairman, to work forty eight hours, with their wages almost doubled.

All over the country the good news spread. To the girls who had never known organized play or recreation, and who had spent only three or four years in hideous one-room schools or the unattractive parochial schools, whose lives had been only work—first at home, toiling and scrubbing, and next at the factory, with the same round of work after hours, with no incentive and no ambition—a Union, all their own, and all of the excitement and thrills of organization campaigns and strikes and lockouts, were glorious.

The manufacturers resisted hotly. Lockouts lasted for several months, particularly in the case

of the chain factories. For these girls there was nothing to do except to force wages to be raised and hours to be shortened. There could be no Union recognition and enforcement of conditions as in the small, independent shops. Only an organization campaign directed against some thirty or forty shops at the same time, could do this. The Pennsylvania State Constabulary, with its training station in the coal fields, was used to terrorize the strikers, so were the coal and iron police, and the local officials. Organizers were arrested and persecuted. It was difficult to find lawyers who would represent the Union. The manufacturers brought all of their influence into play to break the struggling, plucky little Local which was steadily getting a foothold.

### The Union Life

In less than a year, there was a local of 500 girls, almost all under eighteen. The forty-four hour week had been established with weekly pay, and wages were doubled and tripled. The girls had their executive board, which met twice a month in Pottsville, the centre of the county. A shop chairman and a delegate represented each branch. It was a great occasion and a great honor to attend. There were shop meetings and branch meetings weekly. They were learning parliamentary law and to make speeches and to write minutes. They were learning about trade unionism and labor education and they were running their own dances and going on hikes. They were doing things that they had never done before. The Amalgamated had given them a wonderful new life.

Then came the great industrial depression and unemployment. What the manufacturers could not accomplish with terrorism by the Cossacks and frame-ups of the Union organizers, was done most effectively by slack work. It was no longer profitable to make shirts. The army contracts had netted them millions. Accordingly the shops were shut down.

"Why for did I come to the coal fields, where I find little girls for nothing, if I pay Union wages?" one manufacturer remarked, as he shut down. Local 164 went to pieces in the great industrial depression, just as many stronger unions suffered the same fate.

In the anthracite regions, however, unique labor history was made which will never be forgotten. Some day the Amalgamated will once more invade the coal fields. Then will they again successfully organize a new set of child workers whom protective legislation and minimum wage laws have never benefited. Perhaps, then, the union will come to stay.



# The Crop of 1924



Drawn by Ryan Walker for LABOR AGE

**N**EVER in American history has there been such an opportunity for the birth of a new party as this year—since the days when the Republican Party arose on the slavery issue, out of the ruins of the Whigs.

The reactionaries are filled with fright. Their peace of mind becomes more disturbed every day. As one of their staunchest newspapers remarks sarcastically—whistling to keep up courage: "There is more Third Party muttering this spring than at any time since 1912. The Big Winds of investigation have been leveling tall trees on the old political landscape. Professional yearners for a Third Party have beheld with wild jubilation the Washington mess. They have all but wept from joy as the harpoons of inquiry trans-fixed the wriggling victims. Every time the dragnet brings from the depths another kettle of sinister fish, the yearning hopeful do a war dance and loud hosannas resound."

They know well that this revolt is not merely an uprising of the workers, but also of the farmers. That is what is bringing the nightmare to their troubled pillows. "La Follette, apostle of agricultural Socialism," as they note, is the leader of this new class movement.

Farmers are raising a crop of votes, to smite Big Business. They must crush the bankers, or the bankers will crush

them. Two million farmers were compelled to desert the land in 1922. An additional million did the same the following year. The spectre of the mortgage hangs over every farmer in the wheat-producing West. The majority of the farmers are on the verge of bankruptcy—a fact admitted even by Coolidge's Secretary of Agriculture.

The bankers and their man in the White House are trying frantically to stem the tide. They are talking about "selling" the banker's side of the story to the farmers. They are talking of rotation of crops—about which the farmer knows already. They are talking about everything, but the real trouble—the tribute the farmer pays the banker. With the opening of the Russian wheat market to the world, the situation will become worse. The farmer can only hope for salvation, by destroying the banker's levy on him—through an alliance with Labor which makes co-operative banking and other co-operative efforts easier. That will be one of the main objectives of the Farmer-Labor Party.

As the "Illinois Miner" says: "Farmer-Labor unity today is inevitable. Loss to either the city or country worker is a loss to both."



# Russia in Ferment

*With Recognition Comes Demand for "Democracy"*

**S**ORROW for the death of the "Little Father of the Workers"—as the English communist paper, **Workers Weekly**, terms Lenin is blended in the land of the Muscovite with joy at the recognition accorded the Soviets by the Labor Government of Great Britain.

One of the first acts of the new British regime was to extend its hand of friendship across the miles—and greet Russia as a member of the family of nations. It gave unconditional recognition to the Soviet Union, with the details of settlement of the difficulties between the two countries to be threshed out later. It made it plain that it did not agree with all the aims and methods of Russia, but that Russia was a Fact which must be recognized.

No flurry in stocks attended this action. Instead of instability and unrest on the exchanges—which the Tories had professed—the coming in of the British Labor Government and this first international act on its part were greeted with a rising market. There was good reason for this. A substantial group of British capitalists now are going into the Russian market. They want recognition. The New Economic Policy has changed their viewpoint.

But the New Economic Policy has not yet wrought for the Russian peasant and worker all that was hoped. Other things are still needed. The chief difficulty still facing the Soviets is the hostility of the peasants to the workers of the cities and to the Communist Party. It was the peasants chiefly, who forced the abandonment of a pure-and-simple Communist program, and the adoption of the new policy. The workers also are discontented, "because" as Trotsky himself has said, "they are entirely in the dark as to what will happen in the near future."

This state of affairs has led to much discussion within the Communist Party itself, as to whether or not it should be made more "democratic." There is a rapidly increasing number who take a stand against the dictatorship of the Central Committee, which up to the present has ruled with an iron hand. They are in revolt, too, of course, against the bloody "Tcheka," the secret police—whose acts have brought on it the hatred of workers and peasants.

As an apparently impartial account states in **The International Trade Union Review**, organ of the International Federation of Trade Unions: "The Russian workers and peasants have repeatedly

protested against the activities of the Tcheka. Infuriated workers and peasants have on various occasions attacked and killed members of the Tcheka organization." Perhaps with recognition of Russia by the outside world, the day of the "Tcheka" is almost at an end.

In the present discussion the "Bolshevist Old Guard," as it calls itself, has apparently been victorious. How permanent this victory will be remains to be seen. The officials of the Communist Party decided that groups of opinion could not be formed within the party. They made some surface concessions to the revolting members.

In the words of one of their chief leaders: "Party life is to be renewed from top to bottom, all questions of a political and economic character are to be submitted to debate among the broad lower strata of the Party; our apparatus is to be systematically renewed at the new elections; comrades are to be elected and not appointed. Thus the resolution of the Central Committee (the dictating body) can be carried out."

The discussion brought out that the Russian Communist Party has only 351,000 members, instead of the 600,000 it thought it had. Over 100,000 have been expelled, for not having "correct" Communist principles. Only 54,000 of the party members are actually at work in shops and factories.

By an irony of events, the strongest force for progress which has arisen out of the revolution in Russia is the Co-operative Movement. It was this Movement which was attacked bitterly by the Bolsheviks in their first moves, after securing control. There are today in Russia 30,000 separate co-operative unions. Despite bad conditions, their trade rose in 1923, 26% over 1922. The large co-operative—the "Centrosoyus"—has offices in England, Sweden, Turkey, Czecho-Slovakia, United States, and other countries. It is thus extending the foreign trade of the country, and has recently entered into the agreement with the British co-operatives for the sale of the Russian wheat market to the British workers.

Out of the bitter years of the war, everywhere, the Co-operative Movement issues stronger than ever before. It has faced persecutions of all sorts, Radical and Reactionary. It is building, apparently better than any other movement of the workers other than the unions, the structure of a new Era of Industrial Service.



# Oil Raids and Red Raids

*Inquiring "What is a Patriot?"*

**N**EVER have three "patriots" plied their trade so zealously as have A. Mitchell Palmer, Henry Daugherty and William J. Burns.

George Cohan, in the hey-day of his glory, could wave the flag no more perspiringly than they—in a cheerful attempt to hide his own bad acting. President William McKinley could wax no more eloquent than they concerning "our priceless principles (of anti-imperialism)—in a happy and successful effort to hide America's imperialistic seizure of the Philippines.

Did not A. Mitchell, the "Fighting Quaker," shed his religious principles as a duck sheds water, in order to get into the profitable business of killing men? Did not he—far from the scene of conflict—do his utmost to rob this government of the confiscated alien property entrusted to his care? Did not he, in a sweat of fear, super-induced by Mr. Burns, rush out in the name of "Americanism" to that inspiring campaign of clubbing and jailing appropriately called "the Deportations Delirium of 1919?" Did not he, equally faithful to the dollar sign, produce the most sweeping of injunctions against the miners?

The name of A. Mitchell Palmer fouls the breath of the man who mentions it.

Did not Daugherty, the national ward heeler, arrange the midnight conference at the Blackstone which put Warren G. Harding into the President's chair—for the defence of Americanism pure and undefiled? Did not he follow Palmer's lead, and hurl the injunction at the striking shopmen—in the hope of carrying starvation and despair into their homes? Did not he rig out the farce comedy of flying the flag over the coal mines?

The name of Henry Daugherty will live as a symbol of the political scum that a bankrupt economic order brought to the surface of American life in 1924.

Did not Burns, the breeder of labor spies, egg on this Uriah Heep and Mr. Quilp of American politics to these acts of "patriotism?" Did not he, in the deepest hidden recesses of his manly bosom, frame up horrible nightmares, that made American employers sweat drops of blood—to the profit of the Burns Detective Agency and the payroll of his department?

The name of William J. Burns indicates a Degeneracy, that only a Sadistic Social Order could tolerate.

Now, this triumvirate of loyalists have come forth into the light of the day. Rather, have they been dragged forth by Robert M. La Follette, whose oil investigation resolution has created such a furore throughout the nation.

These enemies of Labor are now condemned by the capitalist press, which formerly lauded them to the skies. But now they have been caught. Therein lies their great offence.

Humbug was their line of trade—and Humbug is the characteristic of our entire political situation today. Both old parties are shown to use it, to the benefit of the Profit Maker and the injury of the workers. James Russell Lowell, the great American poet of Liberty, sarcastically told the story over 70 years ago, in dealing then with our slave-power government:

"In short, I firmly du believe  
In Humbug generally,  
Fer it's a thing thet I perceive  
To hev a solid valy;  
This heth my faithful shepherd been  
In pasturs sweet heth led me,  
An' this'll keep the people green  
To feed as they have fed me."

These three social degenerates—feeding off the people—now stand in the public pillory, with oil and the blood of the workers on their hands. Let the workers not forget—as the **Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine** says—that it was their enemies who have been proved to be the enemies of the Government and the people as a whole. Perhaps it is well to add, as a number of other labor papers have done, that the workers should remember another thing: that, vice versa, the enemies of a New Era are the enemies of the working people.

"Patriotism," too, must be defined anew. Is he a "patriot" who sets as his life goal the bamboozling of his fellow-men? Is he a "patriot" who grows fat over the wholesale killing of one nation by another? Is he a "patriot" who hides his crimes behind the club and whip of the military and the courts? If that be so, then "patriotism" is a word that all honest men should shun.

A. Mitchell Palmers, Henry Daughertys and William J. Burnses, will continue to show up, from time to time, until Industrial Democracy is established—and the farmers and the workers own and control Industry and Government.





Drawn by J. F. Anderson for LABOR AGE

**THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE**  
**Harry Informs Cal Why He Will Not Resign**



# Nationalization: The Growing Issue

*It's Time for the "Common Herd" to Do Some Grabbing Themselves*

FROM LABOR-EMPLOYER PRESS

**R**AILROADS, coal, water, other natural resources—these should be in the hands of the farmers and workers. That, in brief, is the conclusion reached by the labor forces of America, as shown by this summary of the labor press. For those who wish to read the pros and cons on the Government Ownership of Coal Mines, we recommend the book of that title issued by H. W. Wilson and Co. It is a handbook for debaters, giving both sides of the question—taken from current magazines and books. It should be in every union library; for the Nationalization of Coal will become an important issue of the near future.

**W**RECKS innumerable are floundering helplessly on the raging sea of oil. The S. O. S. sounds harshly and frantically through the dark night. But help cometh not to the oil-logged Republican and Democratic parties.

No one knows whom the lightning of exposure may hit next. Several times it has hit the White House lightning rod—the flashes revealing Calvin in a sweaty fear and Bascom Slemph hanging on to his Southern delegates. "Oil, oil is everywhere"—and not a sign of relief in sight, for the storm-tossed pirate crews. It has been a great game of Grab; until the Progressive Senators were elected "to raise Cain," as Daugherty's friend, Jess Smith, so frankly said.

The moral is becoming obvious to the farmers and the workers of America. The time has come for the "common herd" to do some grabbing for themselves. The way is open to them: through the common ownership of the natural resources and the public utilities of this country. The best way to defend, it is well known, is to attack. The best way for the farmer and worker groups to defend their interests is to attack the interests of their common enemies.

The **Oklahoma Leader**, organ of the farmers of that state, sees that clearly. "The source of political corruption," it says, "is privilege arising from the private ownership of the dominant industries upon which the life of the nation is dependent. Political democracy and industrial autocracy cannot dwell under the same roof." To which it adds, in a warning which should not fall on deaf ears: "Unless a way can be found by which to make the dominant industries of the country the common property of the people as a whole, the country of

Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln will succumb to the corruption which is already rising to its head."

In confirmation of this view, Senator La Follette—the great standard bearer of the fight on Monopoly and Corruption, says: "Every railroad bill, every piece of ship subsidy legislation and tariff bill has behind it the same unlimited power which was brought to bear upon Mr. Fall and which influenced him to betray his trust. It is the system—the system of Organized Monopoly controlling the government—which demands the condemnation of the people."

The Conference for Progressive Political Action adds its voice, clear and distinct, to the war on the Profit Making System. First in its demands, since the recent St. Louis convention, stands the call for "the repeal of the Esch-Cummins bill and public ownership of railroads, with democratic operation." With that gun, it reopens the campaign for the capture of the railroads for the common people. Thus is the voice of militant Labor added to that of the militant farmers.

It cements an alliance that must go on and on, to a fuller and fuller attainment of Industrial Democracy, for the producers on land and in workshop. "The necessity for American farmers to join with American Labor in obtaining transportation and coal at cost through Government ownership of railroads and coal mines becomes more necessary as the revival of Russia cuts off the market for the sale of American grain bread." So says the **Milwaukee Leader**, prophesying thus indirectly the permanent union of the farmer and worker against the present economic system, out of dire necessity. "The specter of Russia with its millions of fertile



## LABOR AGE

acres gradually coming into production has disturbed the grain markets of the world." The only hope for the American grain farmer to keep above water is in smashing the tribute-demanding forces which feed upon him and the worker: the banks, railroads, grain elevators and packing interests. That only hope lies along the road of Democratic Ownership.

Then, there is the water power of the nation, to be kept from the great electrical interests and to be developed for the people. Read what **Barron's**, the financial journal for the employing and exploiting interests of the country, has to say on this vital subject: "Super-power for railroads—the almost realized dream of American electrical engineers—is the next step. Any General Electric or Westinghouse man will tell you that, and prove it by cold figures. When a net-work of high-voltage transmission lines carries the power of mountain streams to the rails all over the country, it will be no longer necessary for the railroads to spend nearly a tenth of their effort in carrying fuel to move the other nine-tenths."

But the possibilities of water power are greater even than that. The home of every farmer and



Dallas News

**NOT YET!**

**The Old Guard Can't Shake Daugherty—He Knows Too Much!**

worker will be benefited by the coming of cheaper electrical power, just as has happened already in the Province of Ontario. There the people own the



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**WASH DAY AT THE CAPITAL**

**As Seen by the Hearst Papers**

entire water power system. Here the electric interests want to grab it from us—a bigger steal than would be the Doheny and Sinclair grabs put together. Herbert Hoover was the outstanding champion of this robbery of the people. He came to New York to fight the fight of the electrical interests against the farmers and workers. But Teapot Dome has made of Herbert another Saul of Tarsus. He has changed over-night—and now speaks boldly for the public ownership project at Boulder Canyon, Colorado. Doubts are sad things to have; but we can well allow ourselves to doubt the permanency of Herbert's conversion.

What a tremendous future there lies in the direction of this new fast-coming power is shown, almost overwhelmingly, in the current issue of the **Survey Graphic**, organ of the social workers. "We are on the threshold of a technical revolution," writes Robert W. Bruere, through whose vision and long, hard work the issue came into being. "Through high voltage transmission lines, the mechanical engineers are harnessing the rivers and the coal seams to electrical generators having a capacity of hundreds of thousands of horses. They are gathering the stored energy of the sun into reservoirs of power that compare with the isolated steam engine as a mobilized nation compares with the minute



men. The forces latent for good and evil in Giant Power surpass those ushered in when Watt's engine harnessed coal to the looms of England."

The magazine, in its desire to be a compendium of all viewpoints, avoids a direct decision of what the "good" and "evil" may be. But no one who reads it, with a view to the interest of farmer and worker, can escape from the deep feeling that we must own this enormous monster or it will own and control us. That already too powerful group—the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., the General Electric, the Westinghouse—must be curbed, not further fattened. They have crushed the unions of their workers and bled the farmers long enough.

By the same token, the Coal Power must also be destroyed, in the interests of the producers. The United Mine Workers, in their last convention, renewed this demand. "Because sincere men cannot find any other solution of the coal problem," says the **Illinois Miner**, organ of District 12 of the Miners, "government ownership of coal mines receives new converts every day." It quotes with approval the recent statement by Rev. John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare Council: "The essential fact is that under government ownership the coal industry could be so organized that the price to the consumer would be based on the average cost of production at all mines, and not, as at present, upon the cost of production of the poorest mines."

Which recalls the warning of Scott Nearing, in his book on "**The Coal Question**" four years ago: "Natural resource monopoly (by private interests) entered our civilization as a friend and benefactor. Time and experience have shown that a wolf was hiding in sheep's clothing."

It also recalls the oft-repeated resolutions of the workers in the coal industry themselves at their national convention. "Our coal resources are the birthright of the American people for all time to come," they have said, "and we hold that it is the immediate duty of the American people to prevent the profligate waste that is taking place under private ownership of these resources by having the government take such steps as may be necessary, providing for the nationalization of the coal mining industry of the United States."

In other words, remarks the **Reading Labor Advocate**, we must lay the responsibility for present-day industrial and political graft and robbery to the door of the capitalist system. "Let's make the Teapot investigation an investigation of the capitalist system. Then let's abolish capitalism and clean the whole slate."

The instrument for carrying on this program for the farmers and workers must be their own party, say an increasing number of voices. "It is high time for folks to turn to the Farmer-Labor Party," says the **Chicago New Majority**, "and build it up for an independent assault to wrest control of government from the crooks of big business." **Labor**, organ of the rail unions, has run a significant cartoon showing the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey in panic at the prospect of the nomination of "Senator LaFollette for President on a Third Ticket," at Cleveland on July 4th. It is then that the Conference for Progressive Political Action meets to consider action on an independent movement.



Illinois Miner

#### DISCOVERED!

The Farmer and Worker Learn Something of Their Common Enemy

Thus, out of the bubbling Teapot, and out of the shack of the miner, the home of the railroad worker, the mortgage-burdened house of the farmer, comes the cry for Farmer-Worker ownership of the big and vital industries. There comes a cry for a new political instrument to carry out this program. There comes a call for Robert M. La Follette—who symbolizes the political fight of both farmer and worker—to take up the gauntlet thrown down by Privilege, and do battle with this thing of evil, whose poison fumes are killing off the nation.



# Revolt of the British Farm Workers

*A Glance at the Most Unique Union in the World*

By PAUL BLANSHARD

**A** MILITANT spirit among any group of organized workers gives encouragement to the Labor Movement everywhere. None can fight better, against difficult odds, than the farm workers of Great Britain. Last year's strike in the farm districts gave evidence of that. We present you, herewith, to the most unique union perhaps in the world. Its activities and achievements will make you feel good.

**T**HE greatest agricultural strike which English militant group of Norfolk farm workers who land has had in fifty years left behind it are perhaps the most interesting people in the British labor world.

The strike, which came to an end officially last spring with an agreement between the Farmers' Union and the National Union of Agricultural Workers, dragged on in several localities through discrimination.

The strike was a marvel of modern methods. Ten thousand farm workers, threatened with a reduction of wages and lengthening of hours, went on strike, marshalled their forces into efficient bicycle squads and brought out almost every strikebreaker on the country side under the noses of the policemen. Even an East Side strike in the tailoring industry has rarely been executed with such despatch.

The strike ended in a "victory". The farm workers went back to work for \$6 a week of 50 hours with overtime of four hours at straight pay when absolutely necessary and Saturday half holidays. In money they won 24 cents a week by the strike.

They won more than that. They won more respect for farm workers' organization than has been won in any district of England for many years. They won a month's vacation at full pay, since even a labor union could afford to pay \$6 a week strike benefit once in fifty years. They won the right to attend union meetings in *daylight*, even on Sunday afternoon on a public green where a farmer's automobile might pass at any moment. I saw such a meeting at Ruddam in the heart of the Norfolk district attended by five hundred farm workers and their wives.

## **The Duke of York—and You**

From a little elevation at the back I looked over the crowd while the words of the farm soap-box orators floated across on the summer wind:

"... they allow 35 shillings a week for horses in

the army. They allow 25 shillings a week for you and your wives and children. . . ."

"... and the Duke of York got 25,000 (?) pounds when he took a woman. How much do you get when you take a woman?"

(At the hedge along the road are some old farm workers who are timid about coming into the green. Some of them, I am told have never ridden in a railroad train. Some of them have been to London.)

"... 15 peers own one-seventh of your country. 168 persons own over 1,000 acres each, more than half of your country. How much do you own? . . ."

"... You can have some tea now and the band will play a hymn. . . ."

"... That reminds me of a story. (The speaker is stockily built with pink neck and the little children smile when he smiles). There was a chap once who came to a pump in a hollow in the country. He was thirsty and he pumped and pumped but only a few drops finally came for him to drink. When he climbed to the top of the next hill, he met a man and asked: 'What's the matter with your pump down there? It's almost dry.' 'Oh,' said the other chap, 'that's because whenever you pump a cup full down there in the hollow, the pump must pump a whole pail full for the manor house on the hill.'"

## **The House on the Hill**

The manor house on the hill is the curse of the British countryside. The great estates of England are held by the nobility and the would-be nobility.

Beneath this land-owning class is the class of tenant farmers, who usually rent about 300 acres from the land owners. These hire the farm laborers to do the work. The owning class is quite different from the American land-owning class. With the exception of the minority of farmers who own their own land it is a purely parasitic class, with that immense social prestige which is one of Europe's most dangerous superstitions. It is augmented now and then by the city business men, who



POLICE  
"GUARDING"  
STRIKE-  
BREAKERS



In  
Norfolk  
Farm  
Strike

buy land not for cultivation so much as for family distinction, a distinction that serves as watered stock upon which the farmer and the farm worker are supposed to pay dividends.

The three classes on the British land,—the owners, farmers and laborers—are quite distinct. The farmers have their own employers' organization, the Farmers' Union. The farm workers who are unionized belong to the National Union of Agricultural Workers. But the industry is poorly organized throughout. At the top is a set of unscientific investors, in the middle is a set of individualistic and equally unscientific employers, at the bottom is the mass of agricultural laborers who have never been half organized.

The farm workers are not like our "hired men", living at the farm house and getting their room and board. They live in separate cottages which are often clustered in little villages some distance from the farm. Sometimes the journey to work may be several miles in length and the man is lucky who owns a bicycle. The cottages are tiny things of brick built in long rows with gardens behind, and renting for about fifty cents a week each. They are owned by the landowners and the laborer who is discharged can be evicted from his cottage if the farmer can prove that his services are no longer needed. This "tied cottage" system is not entirely unlike our company-owned towns in Pennsylvania and West Virginia where the miner who joins a union can be discharged and evicted.

#### In Castleacre

In the village of Castleacre, Norfolk, I found a family which was said to be typical of farm laborers' families in that part. The man "supported" his wife and five children on \$5.30 a week at the beginning of the strike. (2s 1d.) He had started work at thirteen, had fought in France, and is now only thirty. He pays 56 cents a week rent, 14 cents a pound for sugar, 10 cents a quart for milk, 40 cents a pound for butter and 29 cents a dozen for eggs. *His wages now are \$6. a week, a few cents below the average for England and Wales.* Although the British workers spend one fifth of their income on drink, according to the report of the Labor Party's investigating committee, the married farm laborer has practically nothing left for drink.

"You will rarely see a married farm laborer in one of our pubs (saloons)," said one of the strike leaders to me, "although we have six pubs in this village of a thousand."

The agricultural workers do not come under the unemployment insurance law. But they receive about \$2.50 a week as an old age pension if they reach the age of 70 in destitution and incapacity. Their poverty is perhaps the most wretched poverty in Great Britain today, with few of the advantages which are open to even the poorest city worker.

#### Against the Land System

The Norfolk strike was not only a protest against poverty but against the whole British land sys-



## LABOR AGE

tem. The leaders of the agricultural laborers are aware that they are fighting against a parasitic and inefficient system rather than against individuals.

The strikers told me that you can walk 25 miles in Norfolk on the land of the Earl of Leicester without getting off. It was estimated that even in 1911 the Earl received annual rentals of \$250,000 for his land. What the Earl gets the workers do not get. His earnings would pay over 800 farm workers the union scale in Norfolk. A typical tenant farmer often pays twice as much for the rental of the farm as he does for the cultivation of it by the farm workers.

at Castelacre reserved half of its pews on three Sunday mornings for parades of strikers. In 1872 British troops were sent to the farms as strikebreakers. In 1923, although 400 policemen were shipped into the strike area, the farm workers were allowed to maintain their cycle squads which scoured the countryside and "notified" workers of the existence of the strike.

In the seventies sixteen farm laborers' wives were sent to prison by local magistrates for threatening strike breakers. This year, when 238 summonses were served upon certain strikers to appear at the Walsingham petty sessions' court to answer

A  
STRIKERS'  
PARADE



Singing  
Through  
the  
Village

LABOR AGE Photos

"We are aiming at the control of British land," said R. B. Walker to me when I talked to him in London. Walker is head of the National Union of Agricultural Workers. "My predecessors, Joseph Arch and George Edwards, fought for the ballot and for a living wage on the farms. We are frankly fighting for more than that, because we know that we cannot gain prosperity as long as the present land owning system exists in Great Britain."

### From Joseph Arch to Now

The revolt of farm workers demonstrated how far the farm workers have come since the days of Joseph Arch. Then it was that the last agricultural strike swept England—two hundred years ago. In the seventies, Sidney Webb tells us, the Bishop of Gloucester suggested that the farm agitators be ducked in the horsepond. In 1923 the Church of England

charges of violence, the court was suddenly swamped with Labor Party magistrates. These men came in automobiles to exercise their right to act as judges in any magistrates' court in their own country. The result was that nobody went to jail and a few were fined.

In the seventies the agricultural workers were starved out through lack of strike benefits; in the Norfolk strike the National Union of Agricultural Workers spent about \$25,000 in maintaining every striker at full pay. The revolt of the land workers under Joseph Arch was followed by ruin for his union. The Norfolk strike added 5000 members to the union and most of them are still paying dues.

Such progress forecasts the day when England will see the farm laborers successful in their bigger program. That means nothing less than a revolution in farm ownership in the British Isles.



# “Like Such Another Child”

## The Danger of Cliques

By PRINCE HOPKINS

(This statement was written in France, where the effects of cliques within the Labor Movement has been most disastrous. The French workers are torn asunder on dogmatic questions—unable, largely, to present a united front against their oppressors.)

LATELY I have been engaged upon a study of various cults, and have been struck by the way they love to split up into numerous small sects. Nearly all of them preach brotherly love, tolerance, and the unification of humanity. Why then, don't they practice these things more among themselves?

This is no merely academic question. Haven't you seen the same tendency operative among groups of progressives, radicals and laborites? Let me tell of some of the mechanisms which I find working and dividing these cults. As you read, ask yourselves whether in your own union or movement, the same things are not exerting their disruptive effect.

To begin with, let's take jealousy. Very few minds are big enough to be free from some trace of this. One of Shaw's characters in “*Man and Super-man*” says: “You may remember that on earth—though of course we never confessed it—the death of any one we knew, even those we liked best, was always mingled with a certain satisfaction at being finally done with them.” This jealousy colors not only the relations of individuals, but those of groups. For it is a trait very deeply ingrained, beginning in childhood.

### Saying Smart Things

We often think that a child is simply trying to say smart things for our amusement, when really he is in deadly earnest. This is the case, says Dr. Ernest Jones, from whose “*Essays*” I shall take a good many of the facts of this article, “When a child, on being told that the doctor has brought him another playfellow, responds with the cry, ‘Tell him to take it away again.’” The first child craves to be loved exclusively, and resents this new intruder. Moreover, he thinks that every refusal to gratify his desires, is an intentional cruelty aimed at him. This begets in his heart, an unreasonable hatred toward people. He is taught to repress this hatred and jealousy. He forces it out from the conscious part of his mind—but it remains in the unconscious. It then expresses itself when he is grown up, in those petty quarrels with people because they belong to another cult, which we are discussing.

Another reason that many cults are always quarrelling is that they're founded upon the person-

ality of one leader, who becomes to them little less than God. That is only to say, he becomes to the members of the cult the substitute of their father. They regard him as much superior to the founder of any other cult, as a child regards its father as the superior of any other man. To admit anything else becomes to them a sort of family disloyalty, which they can hardly think of. I have known people who looked this way upon Marx or Kropotkin or Lenin.

### “Dog of an Unbeliever”

For such followers, their fellow cult-members become brothers and sisters in the best sense of the word, really duplicates of themselves in the capacity of fellow-lovers of the leader, or of the central idea which takes the place of a personal leader. But all outside of the cult become its detractors, and the detractors therefore of the beloved leader or leading idea, and of the sisters and brothers, fellow-lovers of that leader or ideal. So the non-member is not merely an unbeliever, but a *dog* of an unbeliever. He's not merely an atheist, but a *dirty little* atheist. He's not merely a pacifist, but a *pro-German*; not merely a different type of revolutionary but a *traitor to the revolution*.

In this connection it is interesting, also, to see how much use is made of such additional descriptions of the dissident as that he is “right on the road to hell.” This, of course, represents simply a wish-fulfilment. The speaker hates this antagonist; he wishes him to come to eternal punishment for the crime of differing with himself and detracting from the glory of the one true faith. Therefore, he describes “the other fellow” as though this wish were already in process of fulfilment—he is on the road that will lead him to it. Our radical movements have yet to invent a satisfactory equivalent for this consolation of the orthodox. The best we can do to-day is to take an experiment actually being conducted by the rival group. Minimizing all the difficulties with which it has had to contend and all its accomplishments in the face of them, we can only describe it as an earthly purgatory of starvation, bureaucracy and tyranny.

### “Narcissists”

The newer cults suffer from the fact that the human material of which they are composed, the vigorous, pioneering type of person, breaking out new paths, is found mostly among those known to pathology as “narcissists.” Narcissists are people who have never outgrown that childish state in



which we love to admire our own bodies, our own achievements, and our own intellect. With narcissism and its correlate, "exhibitionism" (or love of showing off), we read that "there is always associated its counterpart, the instinct of curiosity and knowledge." This is seen in the extent to which the cults adopt names like "The Wisdom Religion" (Theosophy) or "The Order of Ancient Wisdom" (a cult in London) and refer to their followers as "Seekers" and "Searchers." Throughout the radical movement, too, we have a tremendous stress laid on rationality, proof, argument, etc. The membership of radical groups is recruited from those who rejected old faiths because they weren't logical. Demonstration by scientific methods is difficult in these fields. Without it, reason has been a notorious divider of men—even if they were not divided already by their narcissism.

These self-admirers are especially numerous in any cult which founds itself upon an intellectual or economic theory. So great is the "zeal" of some of them, that they aren't content with quietly laying the facts before an interested inquirer, and trusting his judgment to arrive at the truth. They must force him by their mere persistency. They attach themselves like leeches to anyone whom they consider would be a creditable or useful acquisition to their membership, and try to bring him in, with a halter around his neck. They indoctrinate their children when young by means of a catechism rigid and intolerant. Thus, they create narrow or half-hearted members and fierce enemies.

#### Judging Others

These egotists are very unwilling to give credit to others for any good idea, despite their boasting of broad-mindedness. When they do adopt an idea, they manage to give it their own coloring, and claim that minor changes which they may have introduced are of vital importance. They are equally ungenerous with regard to *time*, and in their judgments of others:

"The idea of time," says Jones, "is so intimately bound up with such fundamental matters as old age and death, potency, ambitions, hopes, . . . that it is necessarily of the greatest importance to anyone who claims omnipotence and omniscience. . . . His time is also exceedingly valuable in comparison with that of others, so that, quite consistently, he is usually unpunctual at an appointment, but is most impatient when others keep him waiting; time in general belonging to his domain, it is for him to dispose of, not for others."

"The attitude towards *judging* . . . seems to depend on whether the infringement to be judged is of their own will or merely of that of other people. In the former case no punishment is too harsh for the offender; I have heard such men describe, just like a child, how they could execute various people who disobeyed them, tradesmen who were behind time, and the like. In the second case, on the other hand, they are always in favor of the greatest leniency and broad-minded tolerance."

The first paragraph certainly strikes home. Anyone who has ever gone to an anarchist lecture scheduled to take place at eight o'clock. . . . But I forebear. A great many of us give away in this

manner the fact that we like to think of ourselves as the Almighty. The second quotation bears more directly upon our subject. For as harshly as we judge other sects, so harshly will they also judge us. And as I've mentioned the anarchists, here's one for the Wobblies:

"They adapt themselves with difficulty to any activity in common with others, whether it be of a political, scientific or business kind. They make bad citizens as judged by the usual standards; however interested they may be in public affairs they . . . never even vote, such a plebeian function being beneath their dignity."

Here is one for the rationalists; and as I'm one of them, I suppose it hits me:

"The subject of religion is usually one of the greatest interest to such men. . . . As a rule they are atheists, and naturally so because they cannot suffer the existence of any other God."

Finally, we all share in this one:

"The belief in self-creation . . . is further revealed in such phantasies as visions of a vastly improved or altogether ideal world, naturally created by the person in question, . . . far-reaching schemes of social reform also being here. In general there is in such men a show of romantic idealism, often covered by a show of either materialism or realism."

Since this new world is "created by the person in question," and thus differs from person to person, and from cult to cult, it doesn't represent much more of a factor for unity than any of the other traits. The fact is, as has been said in an earlier article, no single form of society will ever satisfy all kinds of people.

What then? Must we therefore conclude that we might as well despair of getting together in any numbers for the improvement of conditions? Are we to conclude that since no regime can satisfy everyone, it will be just as well to worry along with the present one, which at least seems to please the small group of the rich?

Surely, a more sensible conclusion is, that just because men differ so, there must be variety in the types of communities under which they shall live. Let the rich enjoy a little capitalist community if they wish it. But let them live there alone, in "splendid isolation," neither starving nor fooling the workers into serving them only. Let every other group of co-religionists (besides these of the religion of greed) be equally free to order their affairs in their own manner, so long as they interfere in no way with those who differ with them. And from the federation of these groups, let us have the world-organism.

In the meantime, let's meditate on how much sooner we should reach this goal, if we could manage to unite in the face of the common enemy. It will be helpful toward this, if whenever petty spite is shown us, we remember that here is probably a little group of neurotics, bound together as infants to their father, and each secretly aspiring to be himself a father or God. Remembering this, we shall be less likely to reply to them after their own style, like just another such child.



# Labor History in the Making

Louis F. Budenz, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors

In the U. S. A.

## MUST MURDER BE THE PRICE OF COAL?

**N**OW for West Virginia—and Nationalization!"

That might well be the battle-cry of the United Mine Workers, as a result of the three-year truce with the coal operators. If properly taken advantage of, these thirty-six months of peace in the organized fields can be used to attack the non-union fields with renewed vigor. New impetus can likewise be put into the demands of the Miners for Public Ownership of the Coal Industry, with Workers' Control.

It is not only the American Miners who want Nationalization. It is a demand of the Miners all over the world. The second item in the program of the International Miners' Federation, to which the U. M. W. belongs, declares for the "abolition of capitalism and the nationalization or socialization of the mining industry."

West Virginia is again a center of interest. The old battleground of the slavery and anti-slavery forces has become the 20th century battleground of the Labor and anti-Labor giants. From West Virginia the coal operators hope to get the coal to break strikes in the union fields. Back of the operators there is the Steel Corporation—America's champion anti-union agency.

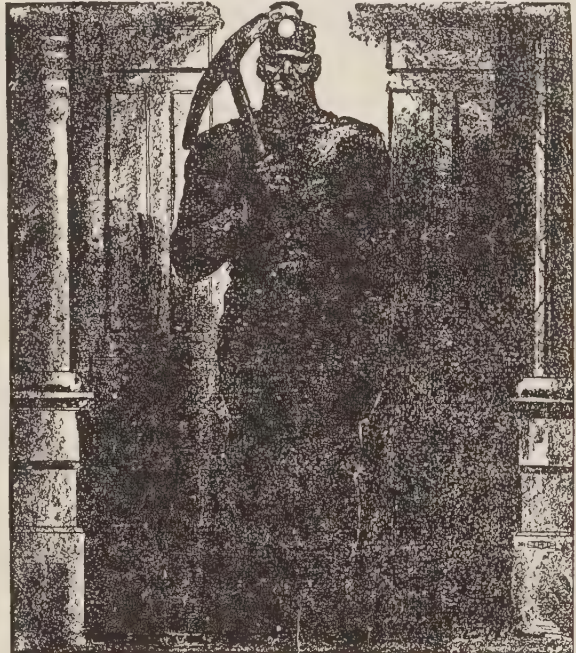
Doubtless in anticipation of the impending struggle, the **World's Work** has begun a series of articles by one Carl C. Dickey. Their title: "Must Murder Be the Price of Coal?" Mr. Dickey's first effort bears all the earmarks of employers' propaganda. The operators are all pacifists, floating about the coal fields on wings of brotherly love. The miners are the bloody boys—intent on murder. Thomas L. Lewis, "once president of the union," is quoted against the union. But nothing is said concerning the "sell-out" of Lewis to the coal operators. He is at present Secretary of one of the most brutal anti-union operators' associations in West Virginia. No mention is made of that. The word of this renegade is used against the union, without a syllable about his own slimy career.

Unfortunately, Mr. Dickey's question is already answered. Murder must be the price of coal, as long as it is privately owned. The coal operators will see to that. Recall the account of the action of the mine guards and gunmen, not only in West Virginia, but in Central Pennsylvania. Recall the murder in cold blood of the helpless Lithuanian miners, in their Pennsylvania tent colony, during the last strike.

Peace cannot exist in Coal, until the union banner

floats over all the coal fields—and with it the banner of Nationalization. As Brother John Brophy

## THE BACKBONE OF INDUSTRY



Oklahoma Leader

said in **LABOR AGE** over a year ago: "The movement for Nationalization grows in momentum. Public ownership of the mines, with democratic management, is now inevitable."

## BALDWIN'S AND THE FARMERS

**T**HERE was once a fisherman, who lived with his wife in a miserable hovel close to the sea."

You remember the tale, told by the Brothers Grimm, which delighted our childhood hours, and which began with these words. The fisherman caught a flounder, which turned out a fairy prince, granting the fisherman anything he desired. How pleased was the fisherman's wife at this news! In rapid succession she asked to be made owner of a castle, King, Emperor, Pope. All was granted her—until she wanted to be Lord of the Universe. Then, was she sent back to her hovel close to the sea.

The capitalist system is well stocked with "fishermen's wives," in our captains of industry. The whole system is based on the idea of accumulating big surpluses in the hands of the few—more and more of them. Not out of the air do these surpluses come, but out of the hides and sweat of the producers.



Let your imagination take wings, and fly to the City of Brotherly Love. Like huge feudal castles, the factories of the Baldwin Locomotive Works everywhere frown down upon you. Behind the walls work the feudal slaves—the metal workers—paid starvation wages, denied the right to breathe “organization.” The lord of this “workhouse,” Samuel Vaucrain, openly boasted in a speech at New Orleans that the law meant nothing to him or his concern when it came to crushing “disturbers.”

Now these Lords of the Universe disclose some of their loot. Not willingly! For, they try to conceal the amount of their profits even from the financial experts. No newspaper is more reactionary in its financial views than the **New York Evening Post**, now owned by the anti-union Cyrus Curtis. Listen, then, to what the financial page of that paper says of Mr. Vaucrain's latest report:

“For the second year in succession the Baldwin Locomotive Works has published an annual report which has been somewhat puzzling to the financial community. Baldwin enjoyed in 1923 by far the most profitable peace-time year in its long history, and the \$2,316,464 balance earned for the common stock, as it appears on the company's income statement, is the equivalent of over \$25 a share. These, however, are only apparent earnings; in reality the company earned over \$40 a share for the common.”

This makes the corporation's profits “near a record,” being its best “peace-time statement.” What news will this be to the workers in the metal shops, if the word can be gotten to them! **LABOR AGE** will shortly devote a special issue, largely, to dealing with the necessity of striking a blow at Baldwin's—if the American metal workers ever are to be free.

But there is more to be told—giving us an insight into the reasons for a Farmer-Labor Alliance. In the same issue of the **Evening Post** that the Baldwin article appeared, there was also run another item. It dealt with the campaign of the bankers among the farmers—to make the latter better satisfied with their lot. (The bankers see the handwriting of “Co-operative Banking” on the wall, and are trying to head it off.)

In that item the financial writer for the New York paper made this damaging admission: “The cold fact is, that the number of foreclosures during the past year has not greatly exceeded some other years in the past decade, particularly in the older settled communities.” But the foreclosures *have* exceeded previous years, according to this admission—which means that the farmers' lands are passing more and more into the hands of the Absentee Landlord. Thus, we see going on in farming exactly the same trend toward Absentee Ownership that has gone on in Industry—and become an accomplished fact there.

All of which gives renewed strength to the Farmer-labor demand for Industrial Democracy. Its goal: “*To drive out the Profit Maker from the land and the workshop. To the Farmer must be given back the land; to the worker, his tools.*”

#### LACE OPERATORS OPERATE ON OUT-OF-WORK

**W**HEN a man has a serious growth on his body, resulting from disease, he has it cut out. Provided he is wise. Surgery does the trick—putting him on his feet again, giving him new life.

Lives there a man who can deny that our present Industrial System is in need of surgery in more places than one? It is crooked and rheumatic in a thousand joints. It has developed cancerous growths that breed pain and suffering for the working class.

The out-of-work problem furnishes one glaring sample of this state of things. Workers who want work cannot get it—frequently because they or their fellows have slaved so hard and “faithfully” that they have “overproduced”. The employing interests throw up their hands, at any suggestion that this might be remedied. It is up to the workers themselves to perform the operation and change the situation.

This the Amalgamated Lace Operators have done, at least in part. Among the unique and militant unions in the textile field, the Lace Operators is one of the oldest. It has hammered out a successful existence, in spite of the ups and downs which beset the textile industry.

Now it is doing on a smaller scale what the needle trade unions are putting into effect more extensively. In some ways its scheme is more sweeping than the larger plans. Under the arrangements worked out in three centers, the lace operators are assured \$15 a week during the entire period of their unemployment. To create the necessary fund for this purpose the employers pay half and the workers half. The contribution of each is 1 per cent of the workers' wages. The fund is controlled by the union, and the money is collected from workers and employers on each pay day. The present arrangement covers over 200 workers.

This is, after all, a wee number of workers, and the experiment is still young. It only went into effect this past year. However, it points to the way the organized workers are thinking and acting. Directly, the plan has had the effect of stabilizing the industry. The lace operators know that all work done by their employers will be done in their own shops under union control. Brother John Burns of Philadelphia, who successfully worked



out the plan, deserves congratulations. So do the Laclede Operators themselves as a whole. They have operated on a very sore spot.

#### THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS AND THE MUSCLE SHOALS DEAL

EVERY trade unionist in the country should throw his energies and influence back of the fight of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for Public Ownership of a Super-power System.

This is the union in the Electrical power field. It knows full well, from bitter experience, what will happen to the workers in that industry and to the workers and farmers of the country, if the private electrical interests get hold of our water power rights. The American Federation of Labor has endorsed the stand of the Electrical Workers. The Public Ownership League has carried their contentions into Congress itself, in the new Public Super-power measures.

On the same day that the House passed the bill giving Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford, Senator Norris introduced his bill for a Public Super-power System in the Senate. Congressman Oscar E. Keller of Minnesota is its author in the House.

Muscle Shoals is being taken out of the hands of the people and put into the hands of Mr. Ford, after Mr. Ford has come out in favor of Mr. Calvin Coolidge for President. It is a deal that will rob the people of the chance to use this important water-power base for their own purposes. Although it has passed the House, it can still be killed in the Senate. *Wire your Senators immediately against the passage of this gift to Ford.*

As to the Norris-Keller bill, the Public Ownership League, in announcing its introduction in Congress, well says:

"It is not enough merely to 'conserve' our natural resources of coal, oil and water power—we must *use them*. And if we do not use them, they will be taken from us, of course, just as Tea Pot Dome has been taken.

"If we pile all our gold dollars on our front porch and put over them a sign saying 'Take Them,' we can hardly blame anyone but ourselves if, when we wake up, we find them all gone. That is about what we have been doing in the past with our natural resources. This bill reverses that policy and declares definitely that the policy of the United States government henceforth shall be to *keep and develop* and *use* our natural resources of oil, coal and water power for the people, and to see to it that the resulting service is rendered *at cost*. 'No more Tea Pot Dome scandals,' say these prophets of the people's power."

The support of all the organized farmers and workers is needed to make this effort a reality. The death sin must be given to Monopoly—and a new

era of "Public Service in Super-power" ushered in, for the welfare of the common people.

#### FOR OUR YOUTH

TEACHING the young idea how to shoot, has been one of the chief aims of a number of the young people's organizations in this country. Militarism and an employers' "Americanism" has been held up to them as their life ideals.

Organized Labor has scarcely benefited by such "educational" agencies. The sons of the workers have frequently been poisoned against the unions, to which their fathers—and they in later life—alone can look for a full life and a control of the tools with which they work.

In the Board Room of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union an interesting scene was enacted the other day. Representatives of Organized Labor in New York, and of the teaching forces, met for the purpose of setting on foot a movement to win Labor's youth for Labor's cause. Not, by narrow propaganda—but by teaching the young folks the ideals of the Labor Movement and the coming of the Workers' Victory.

The merest skeleton of an organization of young people was outlined—to take them into the out-of-doors, to instruct them in the things they want to learn, and to keep before them the great fundamentals of the Labor Struggle. Brother Thomas Curtis, Chairman of the Compensation Department of the Building Trades Unions, acted as temporary chairman, and Brother S. J. Lieberman as temporary secretary.

No more welcome supplement to the growing movement of Workers Education can be thought of than this Youth Movement of the Organized Workers. Central bodies over the country might well get in touch with it, to see what steps can be taken to spread its influence to other communities. Its aim is, to extend all over America.

The A. F. of L. recently showed how anti-union propaganda has frequently crept into the common school system of the country. Here is a chance to counteract that subtle influence by bringing Labor's ideals into the amusements and out-of-door life of the young folks.

#### OUR HATS ARE OFF—

TO the "Railway Clerk," official journal of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks. With its January number it has improved considerably over its former style and makeup. We are pleased particularly to note that it follows in general the size and technical features of LABOR AGE.

To "Justice," organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for its improved appearance and the freer use of the cartoon. From its contents, we can understand why this publication is followed so carefully by both the employing and labor forces.

The progress of the Labor Press means the progress of the Labor Movement. We hope to see more interesting developments shortly in American labor journalism.



## IN EUROPE

### POLITICAL DAWN AHEAD?

**H**OPE springs eternal to the human breast. So, at least, it has been said. Out of the chaos of Europe, out of pain of the struggling workers, has emerged a new hope—faint, perhaps, but gradually taking shape.

It is largely based on the political situation. With Labor in control in Great Britain, European workers everywhere look forward to future Labor victories at elections in their own countries. In France the expectation may come shortly to be realized.

A new Chamber of Deputies is about to be chosen by the French people. No doubt its composition will reflect the growing dissatisfaction with the policy of Poincare. The Ruhr occupation has not been a profitable undertaking. But little money has been collected, and the cost of the standing army has been very great. Europe in general has suffered from the messed-up state of affairs. And as aloof from Europe as France feels itself economically, such a condition after all cannot go on forever. It is bound, sooner or later, to have its reflex in France itself.

The franc has fallen. And that may lead to the fall of Poincare. Oudegeest, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, does not hesitate to say that that will be the precise result of the economic difficulty.

### THE MINERS' CRISIS

#### Labor's Big Test

**A**LTHOUGH the "despised and rejected of yesterday are the rulers of to-day" in Britain, G. D. H. Cole warns us in his Guild Socialist magazine, **New Standards**, that the millenium has not yet arrived. Too much must not be expected of the Labor Government—not only because it is a minority government, but largely because too much cannot be expected of political action.

A new era for Labor will not be ushered in in Parliament—although Parliament can help—but "in the workshops and in the mean streets—wherever working men and women gather together for the fulfilment of their tasks." The biggest task is to extend the industrial organization of the workers—the unions—and fire their members with the idea that they can and must come into control of the industry in which they work.

As if to confirm this counsel of the Guild Socialists, industrial disputes have formed the first and thorniest problems before the MacDonald Government. The strike of the locomotive engineers led off the procession. Its settlement was speedy—on about the same basis that the workers could have secured before the strike. Then came the dockers—those militant workers of the ports, so essential to Britain's progress and prosperity. "Public opinion"

favored the demands of the men—and they won a smashing victory. But even larger industrial problems than these are pushing forward for solution.

Over Britain to-day there looms the threat of a nation-wide coal strike, big with possibilities. The crisis will come in May—and it will be a crisis not only for the mining industry, but also for the Labor Party. The struggle will center immediately upon the efforts of the miners to win back some sort of decent wages and conditions—instead of "the degradation of the standard of life in the coal fields," which has existed since the collapse of 1921. But intertwined with these demands will be the question of Nationalization. This question the Labor Party can hardly evade. It is a chief plank in their platform. The Liberals, on the other hand, can scarcely face it—for it will lead to a split in their ranks. If confronted with a show-down, the majority of the Liberals will probably be against Nationalization. The Tories, of course, are totally set against it.

For years the demand for Nationalization has been a foremost one in the program of the British Miners. As early as 1912—two years before the Great War—a bill for the Nationalization of Mines and Minerals had been introduced into Parliament by the Labor Party, with the approval of the Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation. Toward the close of the war, the struggle for this object increased—leading to the establishment of the Sankey Commission by the Government, and the "Mines for the Nation" campaign.

The majority of the Sankey Commission, it will be recalled, recommended immediate nationalization. But the Lloyd George Government, in typical Lloyd George fashion—shelved the report. It had only created the commission, apparently, to gain time. The miners, by a close vote, declared for "direct action" to enforce their demand. But the Trades Union Congress frowned upon this method, and advocated action through Parliament. The "Mines for the Nation" campaign, aimed at influencing Parliament, proved a total failure. The people were distracted by too many other problems at that time. "Nationalization" collapsed.

That collapse was only an introduction to the giving back of the mines to the private owners, by the removal of the war-time state control. On the heels of this act came the severe cut in the miners' wages—below the level of before-the-war. This cut was put through by the operators and the Government, despite the fact that the cost of living was still 141 per cent. higher than pre-war costs.

Then came the greatest tragedy of all. The Miners struck. They could not win alone—but placed their hope in the Triple Alliance. This was composed of the three big trade unions—the Miners, National Union of Railwaymen and the Transport Workers. On "Black Friday"—April 15, 1921—the Triple Alliance went to pieces; and the Miners



were forced to accept the evil conditions which they have had to face ever since. They went to the "bottom of the pit," so far as wages and employment were concerned. Into thousands of miners' homes stalked hunger and fear. The British miner and his family thus became victims of the war, as much so as the soldier slain or gassed in battle.

The story of this sad adventure on the part of a great movement is beautifully told by G. D. H. Cole in his book on **"Labour in the Coal Mining Industry (1914-1921),"** published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York City. It gives the background of the struggle which is about to be renewed—under somewhat different circumstances. The mere prospect of the struggle shook the whole nation three years ago. Revolution was even hinted at, in the sympathetic "direct action" threat of the Railwaymen and Transport Workers. Those who favored the peaceful Parliamentary method are now in charge of the Parliamentary machinery—at least, nominally. They will now have the opportunity to secure Nationalization through that "orderly" channel.

Interestingly enough, the mining question is under the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade. And the President of the Board of Trade, in the new cabinet, is none other than Sidney Webb, the economist of British Socialism. No more zealous champion of Nationalization than he can be found in the ranks of the Labor Party. What he can do to make his theory effective—when transplanted from the scholar's cabinet to the political arena—will now be watched with deep interest.

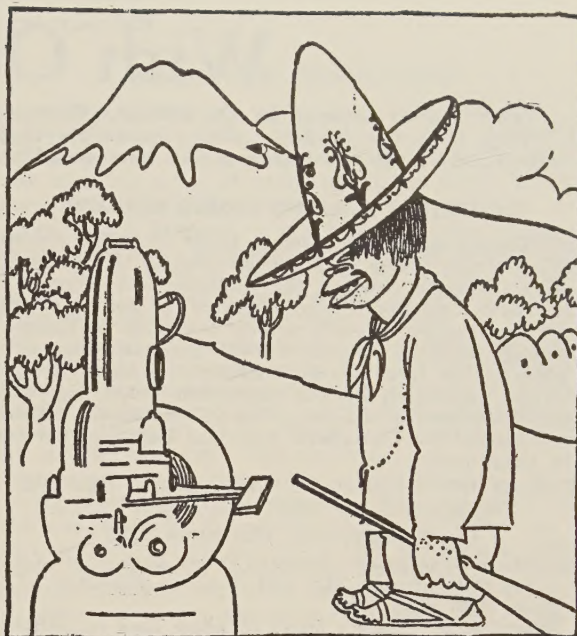
All in all, the urgent call of the miners from out of the pits of Britain, for a new deal and the beginning of Industrial Democracy, is the biggest challenge to the ability and zeal of the Labor Party. It is the most severe test for British Labor since the calamity of "Black Friday" three years ago.

#### BLACK YEARS FOR THE UNIONS

**G**ENERAL depression still walks through Europe. The worker suffers severely, for the burden is on his back. The union movement is hit hard, though here and there can be seen a gradual revival.

The year 1923 was the blackest in the annals of German Labor. So states the General Council of the Trade Unions in Germany. In the havoc wrought by the condition of the mark, the workers' wages have sunk far below pre-war levels. The funds of their unions have disappeared altogether—making necessary the appeal to the workers of the world, to which the American Federation of Labor has now responded. The eight-hour day has given way to the ten-hour day. A dictatorship of Capitalism has been fastened on the German masses, which little short of a revolution can overthrow.

In France the trade union movement has been torn to shreds by the battles between the "rights"



*El Sol (Madrid)*

**The Motor to the Mexican: You beat me. I make two thousand revolutions a minute. You do more than that.**

and the "lefts." The old General Confederation of Labor was split into two organizations, both using the same name. The one was composed largely of Socialists, the latter of Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. Now the latter groups have fallen apart. At the extraordinary conference at Bourges in November, called by the "left" Confederation of Labor, another group—the United Building Workers' Federation—declared for complete separation from the Red Trade Union International. But the central body decided in favor of continued adhesion to Moscow.

To the onslaught against the Belgian unions, the Government has now added an agreement with Italy for the importation of Italian workers. This agreement is hedged around with certain conditions; but its effect is, to throw into the Belgian labor market Italian workers, to help further to break the backbone of the native labor movement. From as remote points as Greece and Portugal come the reports of widespread unemployment, playing havoc with the unions. In Greece the workers shook the country with a general strike. But the number of refugees from Turkey and other countries was too great, and the strike on the whole was futile.

In all countries, as previously reported, the co-operative movement seems to have held its own much better than either the political or industrial movements of the workers. But the crisis in France—reported ahead—may be a turning point in the situation; even as it is a reflex in part of the victory of British Labor at the polls. In France and the Ruhr lies much of the cause for the present European wilderness.



# With Our Readers

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of **LABOR AGE** has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

## GOVERNOR BLAINE'S LABOR RECORD

SOMETIME ago we received a letter from the secretary of Governor Blaine of Wisconsin, stating that the article in our October issue on the Governor was scarcely fair to him. In confirmation of that statement, he sent us a 7-page resume of Governor Blaine's actions favorable to Labor. It is obviously impossible to print the entire memorandum, covering matter taken from Governor Blaine's messages, the journals of the legislature, and the Convention Proceedings of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. But we publish the following as a sample of the Governor's work for Labor, as set forth in the memorandum:

### LEGISLATION URGED BY GOVERNOR BLAINE IN MESSAGES TO THE LEGISLATURE

#### LABOR LEGISLATION SESSION OF 1921

*Jury Trials in Civil Suits—Railroad Police Law—Civil Actions for False Arrest, etc., and Bonding Provision.*

1. Basic eight hour day.
2. Extension of women's hours of labor laws to additional employments.
3. Improvement of workmen's compensation act in following respects: (a) Increase of the maximum weekly compensation; (b) Increased death benefits for widows with dependent children; (c) Provision for a panel of physicians from whom an injured workman may select his attendant; (d) Strengthening of penalties for the failure of employers to insure their risk; (e) Giving the industrial commission power to cancel the right to self insure, if any self insurer does not pay compensation in all cases as required by law; and (f) Giving the industrial commission power to initiate proceedings on its own motion.
4. Codifying and strengthening the child labor law to break "the casual connection between child labor and lack of education." Also urged legislation to prohibit advertising for the labor of permit children during the school term and solicitation of children by employers to leave school.
5. Enactment of an effective home work law to curb sweatshop labor.
6. Protection of railroad car repairers against the hazards of inclement weather.
7. Preference to Wisconsin citizens and to unemployed married men in highway construction work to relieve existing unemployment.
8. Rehabilitation of industrial cripples.
9. Representation of farmers and laborers on all educational, administrative boards.

#### SESSION OF 1923

1. Basic eight hour day.
2. Improvements of compensation act by: (a) Increased death benefits in accordance with number of dependents; (b) Increase of benefits for major and fatal injuries; (c) Increase of weekly maximum compensation to meet the increased cost of living; (d) Separate allowance for healing period in all major injury cases; (e) Increase of penalties for failure to insure.
3. Protection to car repairers.
4. Curbing of use of injunctions in labor disputes.
5. Legislation to prohibit removal of established railroad shops and terminals from any city without consent of the railroad commission.

### LEGISLATION NOT STRICTLY LABOR LEGISLATION BUT ADVOCATED OR SUPPORTED BY ORGANIZED LABOR

#### SESSION OF 1921

1. Constitutional amendments for initiative, referendum and recall and legislation for legislative interpellation with power of removal of appointive state officers.
2. Strengthening of the corrupt practices act to require publicity of the receipts and expenditures of organizations endorsing or opposing candidates.

3. Elimination of railroad grade crossings.

4. Income tax amendments: A state surtax on higher incomes, the proceeds of which are to be used to relieve part of the burden of state taxes on property; increase in exemptions; repeal of secrecy clause; repeal of personal property tax offset.

5. Increase in inheritance tax rates.

6. Reasonable exemptions of improvements on new homesteads.

7. Creation of an effective state marketing department.

8. Strengthening of co-operative law.

9. Protest to congress against increased expenditures for military purposes.

#### SESSION OF 1923

1. Initiative, referendum, recall and legislative interpellation and removal of appointive state officers.

2. Strengthening of corrupt practice act.

3. Income tax amendments—Repeal of all state taxes on property and replacement of these taxes by higher taxes on incomes; increase of exemptions; repeal of secrecy clauses; hastening of audits for back taxes, with more effective penalties.

4. Reasonable exemptions of improvements on farms and small homes.

5. Shifting of a larger part of the cost of highway construction and maintenance to the owners of motor vehicles, with materially increased burdens upon trucks and motor busses.

6. Simplification of educational machinery, with greater emphasis upon elementary and secondary education.

7. Reduction in appropriation to national guard and legislation to make military training at the University optional instead of compulsory. (Special message of March 28, 1923).

8. Honest and sensible interpretation of the Eighteenth Amendment and elimination of all provisions in the Severson Act which are stricter than the federal law. (Special message of March 28, 1923).

## MORE ABOUT CRONIN

IN the article upon "The Labor Spy, James Cronin," by Louis F. Budenz, in a recent number of **LABOR AGE**, an error is made in stating that Cronin was chairman of the Industrial Board of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the Industrial Board but not the chairman. The chairman is by law the commissioner of the department. During the four years ending January, 1923, Mr. C. B. Connelley was Commissioner of Labor and Industry and also chairman. This error may have arisen because, if my memory serves me correctly, in the trial testimony Mr. Cronin stated that he was chairman.

I was a member of the Industrial Board at the time Mr. Cronin was a member, and I offer this correction even though it may be of no great importance.

Very truly yours,

OTTO MALLERY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

## THE GLEASON MEMORIAL

IN the next month's issue will appear a definite announcement in regard to the proposed memorial to Arthur Gleason. This is to take the form of a permanent scholarship at the Brookwood Workers College.

We hope that the readers of **LABOR AGE** will interest themselves in this memorial—not only because of Gleason's fine work for Labor education, but also because of Brookwood itself. It is our leading workers' educational institution, which deserves the interest and support of every worker and friend of the workers.



# BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

## EUROPEAN HOUSING—AND OURS

**H**OUSING conditions in Western Europe have been the cause of much social agitation. Outside of unemployment, the housing question was one of the chief reasons for the success of the British Labor Party. In other countries there has been much similar public discussion of the need for improvement of the housing of the working masses.

Yet, we learn from Edith E. Wood's "**Housing Progress in Western Europe**" that "European housing conditions are not worse than our own." She says, startlingly enough, "We have housing conditions (in America) worse than any which now exist in London, or Paris, or Brussels, or Amsterdam. Slum clearance has been carried on in London, for instance, to the point where nothing remains which is structurally injurious. They are planning to operate next on the so-called by-law streets with their rows of two-story brick dwellings, like the ones in Philadelphia—dingy and ugly, to be sure, but with no lack of air or light or privacy."

So runs the story for French, Dutch and Belgian cities. "The people of Western Europe have undertaken national housing schemes, not because their need is greater than ours, but because they are more convinced than we of the importance of good housing in the making of good citizens and of the obligations of communities in connection with the house-supply."

The book is written concisely and in a sketchy fashion, making it easily readable. In some places it shows signs of haste. But on the whole it is an interesting and valuable book for trade unions to have on hand, for information in local housing campaigns. It gives an idea of what might be done in American cities, and encourages the organized workers here to attempt to do likewise. With the housing situation acute in both New York, Chicago and other cities, it comes at a time when it can be of the greatest help. It is published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York City.

## ON CULTS AND CLIQUES

**Q**UOTATIONS in the article on the rivalries of cults and radical movements in this issue are taken from Ernest Jones' newest book, "**Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis**," (International Psycho-Analytical Press, London, 1923). Jones is the most authoritative English writer on this subject. His book differs from most others on the topic—except men who are popularizers rather than original investigators—in that it is easily understood. This is especially surprising in view of the fact that the amount of research and accumulated evidence which appears in some of the essays, notably that on a study of Hamlet, is overpowering. They should convince those opponents who aren't hopelessly blinded against admitting that there can be "vile" wishes hidden under the surface-purity of their minds.

## THE LABOR YEAR BOOK

**T**HE American Labor Year Book for 1923-24 will be off the press on April 1st. This is the fifth volume of the series begun in 1916. The present volume, edited by Solon De Leon, will contain fourteen chapters covering in an objective manner the American labor and political movements, trade unionism and labor politics abroad, labor legislation, court decisions on labor, workers' education, labor banking, co-operatives here and abroad, and an exhaustive study of labor disputes. The material is illustrated by many tables. A new feature of the book will be a carefully compiled labor directory, giving names and addresses of every international, national and state labor organization in the United States, and a complete list of labor, Socialist and Communist papers. It includes a labor diary for 1922 and 1923, and a calendar of labor conventions to be held in 1924.

Speakers, writers, and teachers have found the Year Books valuable in the past. The book is also to be found in the libraries of commercial houses, universities and newspapers. Much of the material it contains is unavailable in any other form.

The book is published by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

## BREAD AND "BOLSHEVISM"

**N**OT the least of the fine services of the People's Legislative Service at Washington—under the presidency of Senator La Follette and the directorship of Basil Manly—has been the series of pamphlets it has issued on various phases of American Monopoly.

"**The Bread Tribute**" is the latest and one of the most interesting of these pamphlets. It is a report by Basil Manly, written, however, in an easily readable form. It opens the curtain on a startling situation—which is in a way the crux of the farmers' and workers' joint problem.

"The present high price of bread," it says, "is not only levying heavy tribute upon every man, woman and child who eats the baker's product; but this indefensibly high price is in large measure responsible for the deplorable condition of American farmers." It is: Wheat low in price, and Bread high in price that makes the problem.

The price of wheat has fallen as low, almost, as it was in the bad year 1913—before the war. Yet, the people of the cities are paying 50, 75 and even 90 per cent higher for bread than they did before the war! Can you wonder that the milling interests have been making hundreds of per cents in dividends, meaning millions of dollars? Can you wonder that the General Baking Company made a profit of 117 per cent in 1922—the last year it has filed a report—and that, in addition that year, it declared stock dividends of 100 per cent in January and of 200 per cent in December? The consolidation of the Ward Baking Company and the General Baking Company has just been completed, laying the foundations for a "Bread Trust" as deadly as any other monopoly.

Manly piles on figure after figure, taken from official sources, to show this progressive bleeding of the city worker and the worker on the land. This condition is breeding discontent among both of these groups, he points out; the "Bread Tribute" being the sure fore-runner of revolutionary changes. It is in this source, not in the "communism" that the bolshevik hunters talk about, that lies the cause for present-day restlessness on farm and workbench.

What should be done about it? Well, that is not so clear, according to the pamphlet. The first steps are outlined—and for them, we recommend reading of the pamphlet. Its cost is only 10 cents. It can be secured from the People's Legislative Service, Washington, D. C.

## GIANT POWER

**I**N making possible the special "Giant Power" issue of the **Survey Graphic**, Robert W. Bruere has done a fine piece of work. This issue gives a complete view of the present Superpower situation, from the angle of all interests. The big electrical companies say their say in it, and so does the American Federation of Labor. The remarkable story of the Ontario Hydro-Electric development is told by the man most largely responsible for it—Sir Adam Beck. Despite its increased cost, trade unions can well afford to secure this issue and keep it in their libraries. For the Superpower fight is to become the biggest battle over natural resources in the history of this country. The issue can be obtained through **LABOR AGE**.

## THOSE WHO OPPOSE WAR

**W**HEN the next war, which is being prepared for by the capitalists of all the world, arrives, more of us than in the case of the last war, expect to resist the efforts of the governments to make us murder our comrades of other lands. Those of us who do not weaken in the face of practical reality and accept the propaganda intended to make us believe that it is a holy crusade differing from all other wars, are likely to find that our governments will deal with us at least as rigorously as they did with C. O.'s in 1913-1918.

To know what we may expect, and be prepared to meet it at once sensibly and courageously, read Norman Thomas' long delayed "**The Conscientious Objector in America**," (B. W. Huebsch, 1923.) This is a plainly told story, and very human.



# LA FOLLETTE FOR PRESIDENT!

It is now certain that there will be a Third Party in the field this year. It is equally certain that ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE will be its candidate for President. He is the outstanding champion in public life of the Farmers and Workers of America.

**LABOR AGE** was the first publication to show, definitely, that this would be the course of events in 1924.

It was able to do this because of the finger which it is keeping on the national political situation—and on the Farmer-Labor Movement in all its aspects.

In the coming Presidential campaign, every union man and friend of Labor will want to get the best information on what things are happening, what the issues are and what each political and economic group is doing in the struggle. This will be recorded most accurately in **LABOR AGE**—because of our close contact with every phase of the situation.

The Coming Issue, in addition to following the political campaign, will feature:

## WHAT IS WORKERS' EDUCATION REALLY ALL ABOUT?

(Answering the Question which is being discussed in the Movement at the Present Time—"Is Workers' Education Primarily for the Cultural Education of the Workers or for their Participation in the Union Fight?")



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